6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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*Sound and a variety of sub-standard housing can be found together in some sections of Browning.*

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829 seemed, of retaining, if not regaining, some aspects of his better life. To Arrowhead, those better days are gone, part of what was lost when the white man "took everything from the Indian." The white man has become the scapegoat for all John's ills; he can do nothing about this and evidently expects no changes for the better.

177 John rents a small three room shack on Moccasin Flat where he lives with his wife and the younger two of their four children. His wife has made this place [425] quite comfortable in spite of its run-down condition. John said that he also has [592] a house on his land, where he used to live, and to which they sometimes go for [423] a few months during the summer. Some of his friends are unmarried and live [592] with members of their family, some have separated from their wives and have [511] no fixed residence. Most of his close friends are equally improvident, with a life style similar to that of Arrowhead.

[771] Why does Arrowhead not participate in the Indian ceremonies about which he knows so much? He is, he said, a Catholic, but seldom goes to church. How much does he understand of Christianity? How much does he believe in the old religion? Along with these questions, yet to be answered, are others. What factors contribute to the apparent differences between Arrowhead and Buffalo Heart? In what ways are they similar? Are the differences and similarities to be explained by age, skills, experience, education, or what? These same questions arise again and again as these men are compared with other tribal members.

I met several other older men, in ranch dress, who came to town once a week or so. One, Roy Conrad, age sixty-eight, is a farmer from the east side of

6: McFee E=4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



is yet too young to be concerned with the past; but why no thought of the future? Again a question for further reflection.

I met some younger men, visibly Indian, who also were raised in the more traditional full-blood homes, but who are better educated than others from a similar background. They speak both languages fluently and are able interpreters. Raymond Black Plume expressed a primary goal of these men. "I want to make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best from the white way." These men see themselves as representatives of the full-blood group within the council, and actively seek office. Raymond has served several terms.

He participates in Indian ceremonies and knows much of the old religion and rituals, although he himself is a Christian and an active church member. His commitment to the old beliefs is difficult to assess. Although he is more than tolerant of the old practices, and gives the impression of being a respectful non-believer, occasional statements lead me to believe that there is much in the old religion that appeals to him, and he may have assimilated some of this into his Christian practice. Raymond's father, recently dead, had been one of the "chiefs," so Raymond's knowledge of Blackfeet lore and life came directly to him in his childhood home. Beyond this, he has traveled widely and has studied and accepted much white culture from his schooling.

I met a few others like him, all of whom are interested in tribal affairs and work regularly in council or agency jobs, or as clerks, teachers or tradesmen. These people, while differing as individuals, represent another kind of full-blood Indian.

Raymond, age forty-one, is married and has four children. His frame house has four rooms and, differing from those mentioned earlier, has more furnishings, including a refrigerator and a television set. He has a recent model automobile that is kept in good condition, but shows little attention to minor details of upkeep.

The house is located near those of other members of his family along a small creek, several miles from Browning, where the family members pooled their labor to develop a stock ranch. When Raymond is serving on the council, or employed at a council or agency job, he can count on his brothers, uncles, and nephews to look after the place, while his income, which is large in terms of the reservation average, will be used to keep all the family going when they need money.

These activities also indicated that Raymond is keenly interested in the present, ongoing activities of tribe and ranch. He also likes to talk of the past—a past in which he is interested and of which he has heard much from his father. However, he has no desire to return to those days, only a wish to use what good the old culture has to offer for today. He also thinks much about the future. He has goals for the people and for himself. He intends to build up the ranch until it can support the family. "I'll be ready if termination[1] comes," he said; "I'll be able to take care of myself and family." His progress toward this end appears to be slow, but he is making headway.

Raymond said that his greatest problems arise from the jealousy of his

[1] Termination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between Indians and the federal government.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



177 [231] yields up to ten times the income that can be gained from the usual grazing lease contracts. Henry lives more by brains than brawn. Such an operation leaves him free for other ventures—to serve on the council, to hold an agency job, to promote a new venture for the tribe, or to work on a new business deal of his own. Henry is an administrator, a promoter, an entrepreneur.

177 362 511 Henry owns one of the better homes in Browning. The house is well maintained, the large lawn is mowed regularly. Shade trees, shrubs and flowers are numerous. The house is well furnished with overstuffed furniture, a coffee table, bookcases, television, radio, a hi-fi set, refrigerator, freezer, electric stove, and central heat—all the comforts of middle-class city dweller's home. Each of these things, by itself, would not set Henry apart from his fellow tribal members. Other people have well-maintained houses; other have lawns, trees and flowers. Many have new cars like Henry's. It is the total combination of these things, coupled with his sophistication and more widely ranging interests and economic operations, that differentiates Henry from the others.

177 As I got to know Henry better, I became aware of certain values, drives, and attitudes that were unlike those of the other people I have described. Henry is interested in the old Indian culture, but his knowledge of this has been acquired intellectually, through books and studied observation. He is ¼ Indian but has had nothing of Indian life transmitted to him through his home environment, childhood training, or other experience. He remained apart from the Indian behavior expressed by friends and schoolmates during the years he had attended a small country school. In the Browning High School he mixed with people more like himself. He was then among the "more Indian" of the pupils but does not appear to have recognized the things that made them different from him and his friends. The segregation between his friends and others had not been a conscious act. It just "came about." He went away to college and found work in Great Falls after dropping out. Following this came World War II and his years in the service, after which he settled in San Francisco for a year.

Henry returned home to help his brother set up a program for the use of the family lands and while doing this became involved in the problems of Indian land management. At this time he became aware of the plight of the large majority of the reservation residents. He had found a new goal for himself. He bought his house and stayed in Browning to pursue his interest in Indian affairs and to try to better the conditions of the Indian people. Neither he nor I could separate the motives that spurred this interest. He is genuinely involved in this cause and at the same time the cause offers an opportunity for personal achievement—in politics, in tribal affairs, and in economic ventures. It suffices that Henry has found a goal toward which he can apply his particular interests, abilities, and drives.

In this work he often finds himself teamed with Raymond Black Plume, and it was by contrasting these two men and their approach to and understanding of the problems of the Indian that I became aware of other characteristics of Henry Rogers. Both men have a genetic tie back into the traditional Blackfeet culture. Raymond, however, has learned what he knows of it by growing up with it; Henry has learned of it by study in later life. Raymond grew up under conditions that exposed him to two sets of traditions, ideals, goals, attitudes, and beliefs. He has had to select and adjust, to reconcile and accommodate, to give and take

177 867

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



for future economic independence. Compared to the Indian-oriented, the white-oriented persons are more concerned about the education and future of their children; they encourage them to go on to college, or to get other training beyond high school. They give more attention to improving their homes, and feel the need to buy and maintain furniture, appliances, equipment, and automobiles. They early encourage their children to take on responsibility for chores, to work and to plan for their future. They cannot understand how anyone could think and act otherwise, unless they are "lazy and immoral."

The values expressed in the interviews and observations are similar, in kind, to those commonly attributed to middle-class Americans. The emphasis upon and appreciation of work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness noted in the above quotations, and the additional characteristics of concern for education and for the future, are all recognized, under one name or another, in the social science studies of American values.

In one such study, Williams, a sociologist, recognizes the difficulty of isolating a common set of values for a large, complex, and heterogeneous society (Williams 1970:450), but finds support for fourteen major "value orientations," which are "certain dominant themes [abstracted] from the many important regional, class, and other intracultural variations" (Williams 1970:452–453).

Work is mentioned both as a valued means to other ends, and as an end in itself, and is subsumed as one aspect of the "Activity and Work" orientation. Activity is stressed and, according to Williams, ". . . it is no accident that business so characteristic of the culture can also be spelled 'busy-ness.'" (Williams 1970:458–461). Self-dependence and individualism are included as constituents of an orientation called "Individual Personality": "to be a person is to be independent, responsible, and self respecting, and thereby to be worthy of concern and respect in one's own right" (Williams 1970:495). The emphasis upon acquisitiveness is included in the "Material Comfort" orientation; a condition that "is highly approved and sought after." The material comfort orientation, according to Williams, does not reveal the "specific values . . . involved," which appear to be complexly interwoven in the idea of the "American Standard of Living" with its

> undertones and overtones of meanings—from nationalistic identification, to symbols of success, competence, and power and from a token of moral excellence to something very close to a terminal goal at the level of hedonistic gratification (Williams 1970:469–470).

At this level of analysis it would appear safe to assume that the value orientations of the white-oriented sub-culture are broadly similar to the values of the general American public. They are consistent with the economic, social and cultural life of the nation. The individual ideals of success, prestige, and higher status, achievable through the expression of these valued characteristics are considered contributory to the progress of the country. These values are a part of the complex American culture, and are linked with expectations that success will follow upon their practice. The white-oriented Blackfeet have learned these expectations through experience and example.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



It was suggested that Indians participate in sports and rodeos because these were related to traditional Indian activities, and because Indian success in these activities had been given recognition by white people. Skills in these events are highly regarded by the Indian-oriented, perhaps for these same reasons.

The people of this group[A] gain subsistence within the white economic system so that work skills become important. For the most part the Indians must work to get money to buy the necessities of life and the other things they want. Work is the principal means by which to acquire goods and property, and competence at work increases the chances both of finding work and making more money. In addition, work skills are valued as indices of personal achievement. Indian acquaintances identify themselves and others with some comment about what a man is, does, or has done, and past or present economic abilities are included in this appraisal. Unemployed men, talking to a white observer, usually point out past accomplishments, jobs at which they excel, or catalog the land, stock, and other possessions they own that might impress the investigator with their personal worth. Remember that John Arrowhead recalled that he had been a "champion dancer" and "a good bronc rider." He had traveled and worked in many parts of the country, he said, and told many stories of his adventures during those times. He took me on a tour of his "land" to show the house, ranch, and stock he owned. The land was his undoubtedly, but all else belonged to the leaseholder.

This suggests another reason why economic skills, like excellence at sports, are valued by the Indian-oriented. They are aware that these skills and abilities are given recognition by their white and white-oriented neighbors. Not only do these accomplishments contribute toward earning a living and a sense of personal achievement, but they also enhance the image of "the Indian" among the white men.

The Indian-oriented value work skills but have not adopted the American appreciation of work as an end in itself. Some of this is reflected in the responses to my questionnaire. None of the eight men from the sample who were classified as Indian-oriented were regularly employed. Four of these owned land and earned some lease income from that; five received some financial support from other family members, while three had been dependent on welfare to get them through the year. Neither these nor the figures given above for the white-oriented are exactly representative of their respective groups, that is, not all white-oriented people are well off, nor are all Indian-oriented poor, but a comparison of these indicators does show the generally lower economic position of the Indian-oriented. The Indian works hard and well but feels no compulsion to work beyond the time necessary to satisfy short-term needs. Several factors contribute to this attitude, such as the irregular and seasonal jobs the Indian-oriented people are accustomed to getting, the apparent lack of interest in many things the white man considers essential, and the social restrictions on accumulation of property which will be discussed under the heading of generosity. Local, state and bureau school officials met to discuss problems of Indian education during one of my visits. Several speakers claimed that the Indian children were low on motivation and high on the scale of dropouts. One official recognized the value discrepancy when he stated,

[A] [i.e., the Indian-oriented group--Analyst]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



and family photographs, some of the children's art work, music, and numerous books were on display.

Not all middle status persons have good homes, but evidence of improvement is apparent in the houses they do have. This may amount to anything from a fresh coat of paint on interior walls to a new roof, a new entryway, or the addition of one or more rooms. When I reviewed the data from my sample, I noted that two of the fourteen homes of white-oriented middle status sample members were scored excellent and nine good. The middle status people do not all plant lawns and gardens, but with rare exceptions, all lawns and gardens on the reservation are planted by middle or high status white or white-oriented people.

Home improvement, and a tendency toward the acquisition of more appliances and other possessions with increased income, demonstrate the underlying values of acquisitiveness and material comfort. White-oriented people, above the low status category, buy, use, and care for more home furnishings and appliances. A middle-class American would recognize an air of material comfort that goes beyond utility, memorabilia, and decoration, and differs in this respect from the average Indian-oriented home regardless of financial condition. This elusive and hard to define impression may become clearer by contrast with Indian-oriented homes described later.

The white-oriented tend to identify home and possessions with family status. One white community leader, acquainted with sociological literature, assessed the class positions of the town, and used home improvement as a key to attempted upward mobility. Even Indian-oriented people are aware of this "have things" aspect of white living. An Indian who acquires too many appliances and other home furnishings is accused of "trying to live like a white man."

WHITE-ORIENTED HIGH STATUS Highest status among the white-oriented persons is held by a few men or families who own large farms or ranches, or operate successful businesses. In most respects they resemble the middle status people in that they are industrious, ambitious, acquisitive, and active in community affairs. These people, however, stand out for their greater success. They are financially independent, have larger, well-maintained, and better furnished homes like that of Henry Rogers described in Chapter 1. They are leaders in community enterprises and politics and, further, they meet on more equal terms with the white business leaders of the community and region.

In addition to the economic and social attributes just mentioned, these men share a broad knowledge of men and events beyond the local scene. Their interests lead them into contact with men of like interests beyond the reservation and county boundaries. They have traveled widely and have a lively interest in American history, politics, and business affairs.

The economic independence attained by these men has left them freer to pursue other affairs. They can afford to spend more time in public service work. All have become interested in improving the conditions of the reservation population. I mentioned earlier the two who had learned about Blackfeet culture in later life, and display a great interest in the Indians. They know this culture intellectually but have not internalized an Indian point of view. These people have white values and goals and, whether they realize it or not, are working to change

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



behavior of several men that they have such ambitions. They have quit drinking and "chasing around," and have become active in a men's society, a dancing or singing group, and are learning more of the old culture from association with the chiefs. They serve on committees that plan and stage the Indian Days celebration and holiday dances, and attempt to live up to the highest values of the group. Their families are supporting them in this move. The brother of one such man spoke of him proudly: "My brother quit drinking twenty years ago and learned Indian singing. He won a singing contest and now he's a champion singer. He's the boss." Others support the similar ambitions of one of their relatives; they say that this man "isn't so much of a singer" and that he really "doesn't know much" about Blackfeet ways. His ambitions are being challenged as a part of the validation process he must go through.

Several younger men appear to be grooming for the interpreter high status positions. They are learning Blackfeet traditions in their homes or from the elders, and at the same time are doing well in school. One man appears to be a likely candidate for a position as an interpreter. He went on to college and gained additional experience in American society; he is fluent in both languages and was raised and trained in aspects of the old culture. His Indian-oriented accomplishments and success in school already have gained him the respect of the Indian-oriented, and his early success in school earned the respect of many in the white and white-oriented community. He is now going through another testing, having dropped out of college and returned to the reservation to pick up irregular labor and drinking patterns that are not appreciated by the higher status people of either orientation. Nonetheless he is forgiven by the Indian-oriented and will be by the white-oriented if he "straightens out" later and picks up his previous goals of assuming the interpreter role. Other interpreters have traveled this road.

I visited many kinds of Indian-oriented homes and with the exception of those of the interpreters found one characteristic common to all—regardless of the size of the house or financial standing of the owner, they gave little evidence of concern for the material possessions prized by middle-class whites. For instance, one middle status Indian-oriented family, the Chief Sons, lived in a four room frame house in Browning. The siding of the thirty year old structure had been covered during the past ten years with asphalt shingles; the shingle roof was in good repair, but the outside trim had not been painted since the original application. The floors were covered with linoleum, the plastered interior walls retained the original paint. The plumbing fixtures had been installed or replaced in 1958 and were in good repair. Heat was provided by the wood range. Each bedroom had a bed, a wooden chair, and a small table. Clothes were hung on wall hooks and on a cord stretched across one corner of the room. The living room was furnished with a worn davenport, a table and some wooden chairs, and an old cabinet phonograph and radio combination that was inoperative. Floral print paper curtains hung at the windows, several Russell prints and a religious calendar were on the walls, and a plaster religious figurine stood on the radio cabinet. Family photographs, including many of the children, and elders too, in Indian costumes were displayed in the bedrooms. It appeared that meals were eaten at a small table in the kitchen. Inside everything was worn, orderly, and clean; outside there was

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



less order. There was no fence, no lawn, and several shrubs grew unattended. There was little to indicate any concern about how the place looked to a passerby.

Another Indian-oriented middle status home was an old log cabin to which an entryway and bedroom had been added. The structure was sound but unpainted. The old cabin part served as a combination kitchen, living room, and bedroom. There was no water service. Water had to be carried daily from a community hydrant a block away in three water buckets that were placed on a bench beside the wood range and a washstand. The range did double duty for cooking and heating. The furniture consisted of a plain wooden table and wooden kitchen chairs and the beds—two in the bedroom and one in the main room. As in the first house, clothes were hung on wall hooks. There were cotton print curtains at the windows and colorful patchwork quilts covered the beds. The walls were covered with family photographs, a religious calendar, and some articles of Indian beadwork. Paper flowers were on the table, and several plants were growing in tin cans that had been covered with colored paper and placed along the window sill in the entryway. Again, everything inside was neat and clean contrasting with the unfenced yard which was bare of plantings and cluttered with debris.

These examples support but do not prove my impression that there is a difference between the two orientation groups in the way they furnish and maintain their homes. I was in several middle status homes that, like the first one I described, had a refrigerator and overstuffed furniture and that, with the exception of the interpreters' homes, came closest to "having everything," as one of the Chief Sons family said of their house. Cleanliness and decoration with things that interested the family were important, but no one seemed to feel that paint was required. Exteriors received only the most necessary repairs, and the Indian-oriented more often than not showed little concern about marking off or maintaining a private space around the house. Thus there was attention to comfort, but it did not seem to be the same kind of material comfort sought by the middle-class whites.

White and white-oriented people seemed to want to define their yards and order them, which may be in part an expression of concern about what others might think: lawns, fences, flowers, and paint are status symbols in white middle-class society, but have little part to play in establishing a social position among the Indian-oriented. The latter are interested in doing other things with their time and money.

These differences remain impressionistic and need further and careful study. The new housing, freshly painted, that has indoor plumbing, hot and cold running water, electric or gas ranges, space heaters, and that encourages the building of fences and the planting of lawns will both encourage their use and maintenance and provide a test for my thesis that the two groups differ in their evaluation of such things. Time will tell how much the Indian-oriented people choose to invest in these, and whether or not they will differ from their white-oriented neighbors in this respect. For the present, at least, I find these differing concerns about work, money, home furnishings and maintenance, generosity and proper social relationships, and the values that underlie them, to be basic to the maintenance of the contrasting social structures of the two groups.

7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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TABLE 19. GLACIER COUNTY, MONTANA, "PRODUCTIVE ASSETS" - CHARACTERIZATION OF THE FARMS
Agricultural Statistics (Official Figures)

| | 1950 | 1954 |
|---|---|---|
| Total number of farms and ranches | 452 | 364 |
| Number of commercial farms | 341 | 327 |
| Number having no tractor but 2 or more horses or mules | --- | 64 |
| Number having tractor and horses or mules | --- | 189 |
| Number having tractor but no horses or mules | --- | 101 |
| Number having telephone | 21 | 17 |
| Number having electricity | 208 | 266 |
| Number having television | --- | 4 |
| Number having piped water in home | --- | 148 |
| Number having home freezer | 62 | 146 |
| Number having grain combines | 147 | 153 |
| Number having operators residing on farm | 404 | 323 |
| Average size of farm (acres) | 2,256 | 3,535 |
| Average value of land and buildings | $ 27,934 | $ 75,188 |
| Number of farms growing vegetables for home use | 104 | 76 |
| Value of farm products sold | $3,320,132 | $4,483,270 |
| Value of crops sold | $1,802,975 | $2,191,634 |
| Value of field crops sold | $1,802,120 | $2,189,934 |
| Value of livestock sold | $1,717,136 | $2,291,636 |
| Value of livestock other than dairy or poultry | $1,590,212 | $2,256,694 |

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241

TABLE 20. GLACIER COUNTY, MONTANA, "PRODUCTIVE ASSETS" - USE OF COMMERCIAL FERTILIZER, 1954
Agricultural Statistics (Official Figures)

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of farms reporting any use | 40 |
| Number of farms reporting use on wheat | 28 |
| Number of tons used | 329 |
| Number of tons used on wheat | 150 |
| Number of acres fertilized | 13,934 |
| Number of acres of wheat fertilized | 6,546 |

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



a rabbit, or merely to get a drink of cool water from a near-by lake or stream. Under these conditions long marches were out of the question. There were frequent stops. Five or six miles was a good day's march.

The great bulk of the baggage carried by the dogs and women must have consisted of articles essential to day-to-day living. Elaborate lodge furnishings, many changes of clothing, complex medicine bundles and ceremonial regalia, surpluses of fresh or dried meat, and wild fruits or vegetables would have been excess baggage in dog days.

Blackfoot traditions refer to the surround as the favorite method of hunting buffalo in the summer season in dog days. Probably they employed the same method as that observed among the Assiniboins or Crees by Henry Kelsey, the first white man known to have met Indians on the Northern Plains, in the year 1691:

> Now ye manner of their hunting these Beasts on ye barren ground is when they seek a great parcel of them together they surround them with men which done they gather themselves into a smaller Compass Keeping ye Beasts still in ye middle and so shooting ym till they break out at some place or other and so get away from ym.[8]

Weasel Tail, an aged Blood Indian, described to me a variant of the surround which he had been told was employed by his ancestors in dog days.

« « « After swift-running men located a herd of buffalo, the chief told all the women to get their dog travois. Men and women went out together, approaching the herd from down wind so the animals wouldn't get their scent and run off. The women were told to place their travois upright in the earth, small [front] end up. The travois were so spaced that they could be tied together to form a semicircular fence. Women and dogs hid behind them while two fast-running men circled the buffalo herd, approached the animals from up wind, and

[8] *The Kelsey Papers*, 13.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



cover and its accessories; two horses to drag the lodge poles; two for packing meat, other food, and equipment; three horses to carry the women (at least two of which would drag travois); and two riding horses for the men. Each of the men would also need a buffalo horse. A young married couple with a baby or no children needed no more than five horses. However, a large family of more than five adults required fifteen to twenty or more horses.[3]

Nevertheless, there were many poor families among the Blackfeet who owned only one or two horses. Their poverty in horses caused their standard of living to be well below that of the average family in their tribe at the time. Their possessions more nearly resembled those of the pre-horse Indians in quantity. Their lodges were small, covered with no more than six or seven buffalo hides, with short, light foundation poles. Their clothing, household utensils, and weapons were few and poor in quality. They owned no fancy dress clothes, no handsome riding gear. Their guns, if they owned any, were worn, broken, and repaired with rawhide cord. They had few if any buffalo robes to offer the traders.

At the other end of the Blackfoot economic and social ladder were the relatively few wealthy families—the owners of large horse herds. The fur trader, Charles Larpenteur, writing in 1860, aptly characterized the rich Indian:

> It is a fine sight to see one of these big men among the Blackfeet, who has two or three lodges, five or six wives, twenty or thirty children, and fifty to a hundred horses; for his trade amounts to upward of $2,000 a year.[4]

The man of wealth and the members of his family dressed well. They owned several changes of clothing, including elaborately decorated garments to wear in dress parades, ceremonies, and feasts in honor of important visitors and on their own visits to

[3] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 129-39.
[4] *Forty Years a Fur Trader*, II, 401.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



511 other Indian camps or to the trading posts. They obtained the most attractive ornaments and best weapons from the traders' stock. They owned important and costly medicine bundles and showy and well-made riding gear. Their tipis were both large and handsomely furnished. As Larpenteur stated, some of them owned more than one tipi.

556 Wealth brought both opportunity and responsibility to the man who possessed it. The stingy rich man was despised by his less fortunate fellows. The generous man of wealth was beloved 556 by them. If he was liberal in feasting and in giving away food 622 and horses to the needy, if he lent horses to the poor for their use in hunting and moving camp, his fellow band members would want him for their chief—provided he also possessed a fine war record. James Doty described the Blackfoot chieftaincy thus in 1854:

> Every man who can acquire a large herd of horses, keep a good Lodge and make a large trade in Buffalo Robes is a chief, and he will maintain a persuasive influence over his people just so long as he continues wealthy, and ministers to the popular voice in directing the movements of the camp, leading war parties etc. Whenever he opposes his wishes to those of his band, it will desert him and turn to some chief more pliable.[5]

621 The hunting band, which was still the basic political unit among the Blackfeet, was probably a much more fluid unit than 178 it had been in prehistoric times. In early times, when everyone stood literally and figuratively on an equal footing, the chiefs had no property to dispense. But in the middle of the nineteenth century poor families looked to their chief for charity. They changed their band allegiance if they believed they might better their economic condition as followers of a more liberal chief. Some of the larger bands had more than one chief. New bands were created when a rising leader and his followers broke away from an existing band. An older band might dissolve after the

[5] Doty to Isaac I. Stevens, December 20, 1854. Indian Office Records.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



hoofs, causing his horses to mill around so as to make further enumeration impossible. Yet Many Horses is credited with knowing every animal in his herd. He is said to have employed 10 or more boys to care for them. When camp was moved those of his horses that were not loaned to less fortunate individuals to transport their belongings were driven in three to five large herds.

Bull Shoe (Lone Man) was the wealthiest Piegan after the death of Many Horses. He may have owned nearly 500 horses in late buffalo days. Stingy, a blind Piegan, who died in 1918, aged about 78 years, then owned between 200 and 300 horses. Many-White-Horses (ca. 1834–1905) also owned more than 100 horses at that time. Informants claimed that a man who possessed 40 or 50 horses in buffalo days was considered wealthy by his fellow tribesmen.[7] It is probable that less than a score of Piegan were entitled to that distinction at any period during buffalo days.

Certainly less than 5 percent of Piegan men were wealthy in horses in buffalo days. Probably the proportion of rich men to the total adult male populations was smaller among the Blood and North Blackfoot. The majority of the Blackfoot had a difficult time meeting the needs of their nomadic existence with a limited number of horses. A fairly large proportion of Blackfoot families, possibly as many as 25 percent, owned less than a half dozen horses in buffalo days.[8]

The traditional belief that wealth should be reckoned in horses was difficult for these Indians to forget even after horses became so plentiful in the Northwest that they could be purchased for from $2 to $5 a head (Denny, 1939, pp. 259–260). Frank Sherburne recalled with amusement that some 50 years ago, Owl Child, a Piegan who owned about 500 head of fine cattle and a great many horses, liked to brag about the size of his horse herd. His cattle had many times the monetary value of his horses, but he never mentioned them in his boasting. During the period of my residence on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana (1941–44) there were still several older fullbloods who owned sizable horse herds. Although most of these animals were unbroken and unused, their owners had no desire to sell them. Possession of horses made those Indians feel both wealthy and important.

[7] Piegan remembered as wealthy horse owners in buffalo days were Water-Bull-Mountain-Chief, Big Nose (also known as Three Suns, who died in 1896, a prominent chief), Crow Feathers, Big Plume (born ca. 1826), Wolf Calf (noted leader of the horse medicine cult, born before 1800), Wolf-Comes-Over-the-Hill, Many Strikes, Wolf Tail (born ca. 1853), Middle Calf, Owl Child (born ca. 1865), Horn, Tearing Lodge (born ca. 1834), and Curlew Woman (born ca. 1823). The last named was a woman.

[8] It is important to qualify these statements with the phrase "in buffalo days," because horses became much more plentiful among the Blackfoot tribes after they settled down on reservations following the extermination of the buffalo. Not only did Stingy, Bull Shoe, Many-White-Horses, Owl Child, and other former owners of many horses greatly increase the sizes of their herds, but a number of other Indians, who had previously owned smaller herds, became rich in horses. By 1900 there were several Piegan owners of 500 to 1,000 or more horses on the Montana Reservation.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



We have no detailed description of northern Plains slave-raiding procedures, but the De Gannes memoir (Pease and Werner, 1934 b, pp. 375–388) gives a very clear account of Illinois slave raids against the Pawnee and Quapaw ca. 1700. Many elements of the Illinois slave raid closely resembled those of Blackfoot horse raids of historic times. Particularly noteworthy are the following: (1) the slave raid was distinguished in procedure from that of the large war party seeking scalps, (2) slave-raiding parties were small, not ordinarily exceeding 20 persons, (3) members carried birdskin war medicines, (4) youngest members performed menial tasks for experienced raiders, (5) scouts were sent ahead of the outgoing party to reconnoiter the enemy, (6) inexperienced members remained with the baggage in a concealed location, while (7) experienced men made a dawn attack on the enemy camp to secure prisoners, (8) the raiding party made a speedy departure with their prisoners, marching two days and nights without stopping, (9) the capture of a prisoner was reckoned as a war honor of higher rank than the killing of an enemy.

This slave-raiding pattern may have been an old one, widespread among Algonquian and perhaps other tribes as well, and known to the pre-horse Blackfoot Indians. Certainly, elements of this raid are clearly observable in the pattern of the Blackfoot horse raid of the 19th century as described by my informants and in the literature (see pp. 177–189).

The primary motive for Blackfoot horse raiding in the 18th century, when horses were new to the Blackfoot country, must have been economic—the desire to obtain animals needed for hunting buffalo and transporting baggage. I believe the economic motive remained dominant until the end of buffalo days. Need, not greed or glory, was the major stimulus impelling most young men to engage in the hazardous time and energy-consuming enterprise of the horse raid. Wealthy Blackfoot comprised a small minority. They were generally men of middle or advanced years, many of whom were unusually successful as breeders of horses. The average Blackfoot family found it difficult to meet the needs of its nomadic existence with the number of horses it possessed. There were few young men who did not need more horses than their families could spare them if they were to marry and raise families; while the sons of poor families, who far outnumbered the favored children of the rich, were noted as the most active and inveterate horse thieves. The fact that a captured horse counted as a war honor served as a secondary stimulus to horse raiding. But we must not overestimate the importance of that stimulus. This was a low-grade coup, an impressive assemblage of which alone would not qualify a man for leadership in his band.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

## VI. Effects of the Fur Trade upon the Blackfoot

439 If we were to characterise in a word the effects of the fur trade on Black-
199 foot culture that word would be expansion. The key to the understanding
199 of this expansion is the transition from an economy which produced for its
178 own needs to one which produced for an ever-increasing market. Far from breaking down the existing Blackfoot institutions the fur trade acted as a stimulus to their development. The changes wrought in Blackfoot culture are most discernable in their material culture, social organization and warfare. Some of the more important points that will be discussed are the increase in the size of tipis, the enlargement of buffalo corrals, the higher standard of living following the introduction of elements of white material culture, the improved means of subsistence, the increase of wealth, the growth of polygyny, and the development of a commercialism which permeated Blackfoot life.

439 When the fur traders first came to the Blackfoot, the Blackfoot were
197 friendly, but aloof and independent. This was due largely to their eco-
nomic self-sufficiency. Unlike the Cree, and later the Flathead and Ku-
tenai, who saw in the superior technology of the whites a guarantee against the ever present threat of starvation and became specialists in trapping,
[433] the Blackfoot scorned to turn to trapping. Blackfoot economy, in contrast to the tribes to the east and west, never became subservient to that of the whites for its subsistence needs.[180] Duncan M'Gillivray, a clerk of the Northwest Company put it very well in a passage written in 1794.

> "The inhabitants of the Plains are so advantageously situated that they could live very happily independent of our assistance. They are surrounded with innumerable herds of various kinds of animals, whose flesh affords them excellent nourishment and whose skins defend them from the inclemency of the weather, and they have invented so many means for the destruction of animals that they stand in no need of ammunition to provide a sufficiency for their purposes. It is then our luxuries that attract them to the fort and make us so necessary to their happiness."[181]

439 With the infiltration of the labor saving devices of white material culture,
197 and the consequent rise in the standard of living, the "luxuries" soon be-
511 came necessities, and Blackfoot dependence upon the whites, though on a different level than that of the Cree, was no less real. After a time it was

[180] For the contrast with the Plains and Woodland Cree, see Mandelbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[181] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



only the poorest households which were without their guns, iron axes, kettles, beads, awls, blankets, etc.

*Changes in Material Culture*

The enlargement of the buffalo corrals and the increase in the size of tipis were a direct result of the fur trade. In order to supply the traders with more buffalo hides the Blackfoot enlarged the corrals and pounds by adding appendages in the following manner:[165]

It is possible to discern an increase in the size of tipis at two points in Blackfoot history. The first occurred a short time after the introduction of the horse. While we have no description of Blackfoot tipis in pre-horse days we can infer the limits of their size from the fact that the maximum load that could be carried by the dog travois was between 40 to 50 pounds. Since the weight of a buffalo hide was well over 50 pounds, a six to eight skin tipi would probably tax their transportation facilities to the limit. Such a tipi could accommodate between six to eight persons. However, in the earliest reference to Blackfoot tipis found in Henday (1754) or about twenty years after their acquisition of horses, Henday writes that the "leaders" tent in a camp of two hundred was "large enough to contain 50 persons."[166] From this we can infer that the size of tipis had increased to a point that would have been impossible without the improved means of transportation supplied by the horse. I think we can assume that the tipi mentioned by Henday represented the maximum size for this period and were constructed only by well-to-do chiefs.

A further increase in the size of tipis occurred in the 1830's and was related to the expansion of the fur trade and the growth of polygyny among the Blackfoot. The average tipi was made of from six to twelve skins and accommodated from six to ten people. However, in the case of wealthy

[165] J. Richardson, Blackfoot Field Notes, Mss.
[166] Henday, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



[1894-1910]

657 231 425 SUCCESS OF CATTLE-RAISING.—Since the land seemed so inhospitable to farming yet so desirable for herding, the Canadian Indian Department made another attempt to introduce cattle-breeding on the various Blackfoot reserves. In 1894, three of the most influential men of the Blood, Red Crow, the old tribal chief who had concluded the Treaty of 1877, Crop-eared Wolf, his adopted son, and Sleeps on Top, were permitted to exchange their ponies for "bulls, cows, heifers and calves." Twenty-three were issued to the first two, and Sleeps on Top received eighteen.[55]

[178] Time and the inevitability of a settled life upon the reserve may have made the Blood readier to accept the responsibility of herding now than in the past, but the main reasons for the success of this program must be looked for elsewhere. Only a few of their hundreds of animals were of real use for farming, transportation and riding. On the other hand, the Blood had seen the success of a similar program among the neighboring Piegan. The rich herders knew that an exchange of twenty for twenty would bring quick benefits and would not radically reduce their manipulative horse [556] wealth. There was a great clamor for cattle; but the man without horses remained the man without cows.

657 231 425 The following is a list taken from the official record of some who applied for cattle at this time:[56]

511 Red Crow (chief): . . .House in good condition, comfortably furnished. . .a nice lot of poultry, a large band of horses and about 25 head of cattle. . . .The house had a carpeted floor. . .and there was a good sewing machine. The chief would like to exchange some ponies for some heifers.

Iron (son of Chief Moon): Neat house. No cattle. Large band of horses, good stable, implements, shed, hay corral, cattle shed to be built, logs for which were on the ground. . . .Was anxious to exchange horses for cattle.

To-morrow: Good house. . .stoves, two beds, outside kitchen, building new stable. . .root house, corral, large band of horses, logs on ground for cattle shed, and wants to get cattle.

Running Crane: House was in its usual good shape, bedsteads, rocking chairs, washstands, red table-cloth on table, fancy stand-up, clock, coal and cook stoves, carpet on floor. . .cattle shed in hollow. . . anxious to get cattle.

Big Snake: a similar place, wants cattle also.

Black Plume: a similar place, also wants to get cattle.

657 231 425 Others who had well-kept houses are mentioned, but no demands for cattle are registered. It may easily be inferred that although these Indians

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 272 ff.
[56] *Idem.*

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



approximately $40,000 annually.[115] As early as 1902, the agent had written, "these Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to make money at any work that may turn up."[116] And four years later the general report reads, "A complete change has gradually come over their views. . . . The experimental discovery of the market value has brought this revolution of feeling."[117] Completely forgotten was the fact that the market value had been equally important to a successful fur trade in the buffalo days, and that then it had also been a spur to industry and ambition.

SOCIAL VALUES SUSTAINED.—But neither the increase in wealth nor its greater spread threatened the dominance of the large horse owners. True, they were persuaded, at long last, to care for the meat needs of their families from their own stock,[118] but the small dent made by these contributions was quickly offset by other government policies. The flow of white settlers into the area was steady, and it soon became apparent that "further expansion need not in the future be looked for so much in the direction of the increase of herds already in the hands of individuals as in the number of those who will engage in the industry, because largely in consequence of the curtailment of the hay areas . . . and the gradual increase of cattle, a large and growing proportion of Indians have already reached the limit of what they could profitably handle. . . ."[119] Ponies and priority had determined the size and ownership of the large cattle herds.

Many a young man who could not acquire a substantial herd of his own was drawn into the industry as a helper. His position in terms of the old buffalo days was in part reëstablished. Again his services were in demand; again he was assured board, lodging, clothing, and if his employer were generous, a horse as an annual bonus. These helpers were often the younger or poorer relatives of rich herders,[120] and they hoped for preferential treatment because of relationship. There was little chance of riches in this work,

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[116] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 133.

[117] 1906, Vol. 12, No. 27, p. xxv.

[118] In 1905, twenty-five men agreed to support seventy-five women and children. They handed back the $50 that had been credited to their meat account. (1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.) By 1907–1908, two hundred Blood, or about two-thirds of the adult male population, found it unnecessary to draw free food allowances. In that year the Government supplied the tribe with 273,000 lbs. less beef than it had five years earlier. (1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 163.)

[119] 1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. xxvi.

[120] A more or less similar situation exists among the Kazak. In discussing the helpers of cattle owners, A. E. Hudson (*Kazak Social Structure*, p. 27) writes, "These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who receive wages."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



556 184 [852] The less successful families aped their wealthier neighbors. They too had give-aways, but these were on a lesser scale. They were initiated to a part of a bundle; they bought the cheaper society memberships; they too had their favorites, but these children had to be content with small honorings. They might receive an otter skin, even a weasel-tail suit, or they might wear their umbilical cords in little beaded bags as the "real" favorites did. But these meagre efforts of their parents to "keep up with the Jones's," never succeeded in gaining recognition for their children. Only when the spending was great and continual was a child considered a "real" favorite by the Blood. A Bird Shooter or a Joe Duck-Bill might say, "I was a *minipoka*, but my father died when I was still young. That is why I haven't many honorings." At these avowals the Blood would only laugh; they knew what it took to make a favorite.

787 756 178 [152] Shamanism began to lose its hold. Wissler, writing at this time, says of the vision quest, "The majority of young men fail in this ordeal as an unreasonable fear usually comes down upon them the first night, causing them to abandon their part."[125] Whatever may have been the trials of the ordeal it was not waning courage alone that turned the interest of the young men from the vision quest and medicine power. There were now more rewarding ways of earning a living.

Even the older men showed little interest in the quest itself, although they still sought the benefits of supernatural power. Says Wissler, "Men of medicine experience seldom resort to these tortures, as dreams of a satisfactory character are said to come to them in normal sleep,"[126] and in another passage, he adds, "At present the majority of men seems content to secure their charms and other medicines from those who do have dreams or from the large stock of such available for transfer."[127] Emphasis on courage and inspiration disappeared; increasingly wealth was the preferred road to power. [425] [556]

511 556 657 433 182 SUMMARY.—In this period of 1894-1910, the bulk of the wealth still rested in the hands of the horse-owners who in the first seventeen years of the reservation succeeded in freezing the only valuable form of property that remained to the Blood after the treaty of 1877. The loan system, the final distribution of cattle, the need for fodder and additional help, as well as those industries that paid money wages, spread the wealth. With the increased oppportunities for making a living, social differences became less conspicuous, but the dominance of the large horse and cattle owners was never threatened. As the economy expanded, the rich spent more lavishly,

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[125] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 104.
[126] *Idem.*
[127] *Idem.*

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



[1894-1910]

and those who shared in the new wealth imitated as successfully as they could the behavior of the wealthy tribesmen. The new herding economy functioned comfortably within the framework of pre-reserve values.

*1910–1920*

FARMING AND THE NEW MONEY ECONOMY.—After the turn of the century, experiment revealed that the soil and climate of the Blood Reserve were well adapted to the cultivation of red fife, an early maturing wheat,[128] and shortly before 1910, land was thrown open for farming. The cattle herders, led by their head chief, Crop-eared Wolf, objected vociferously to any reduction of their grazing fields,[129] but the agency, interested primarily in obtaining the largest income possible, was not deterred. The younger men, "the working element" as the report calls them, eagerly backed the new plan and rushed in their applications for land, "as much as a steam plough can break in two years."[130] This "working element" saw its first big chance to make good since the buffalo days.[131] It was a composite of half-breeds who shared in a small way, if at all, in the property distributions of their Blood relatives, a number of full-bloods whose families could offer them little, and a few ambitious and far-sighted cattle owners, mostly from those very chiefly families that had, at first, fought the program so bitterly. The bulk of the herders, however, were content with their lucrative herds and their share in the income from hay. Their poorer but not too distant relatives preferred helping them to embarking upon a new and untried career.

Previous wealth was no prerequisite to this new farming program. Anyone willing to work could get forty acres of land, plowed and ready to plant. "The intention is to continue the breaking until every working Indian on the reserve is supplied with whatever acreage he is capable of cultivating."[132] In 1909, 320 acres were broken for fifteen Indians.[133] The farms ran together in a great strip to facilitate the plowing that was done with a steam plow bought with tribal funds, but the report explicitly states, "each man

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[128] Waines, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[129] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 160; also Harry D. Biele, interview in 1939 with R. C. Wilson, former agent of the Blood.

[130] *idem.*

[131] Speaking of agriculture, Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31) says of this herding tribe, "Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor any other means of subsistence resorted to it." Owen Lattimore (*High Tartary*, p. 245) notes a similar situation. "In the new tendency, it is the young man not established and the man who fails to hold his own as a flock-master, herder, and raider who drifts out of the nomadic life and settles on the land."

[132] 1910, Vol. 17, No. 27, p. 174.

[133] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 169.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



to select mates from their own circles. The poor married each other; half-breeds married half-breeds[139] or orphaned members of the tribe. Sometimes, it is true, an ambitious but poor young man succeeded in marrying a wealthy but considerably older woman; sometimes a father of a poor but beautiful daughter succeeded in marrying her off to a wealthy husband; sometimes a rich herder preferred a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But the lines remained clearly drawn. Rarely were the "newly rich" able to crash the "old society."

Today another trend is visible. Numerous marriages have taken place between the children of the "newly rich" and the children of those cattle-breeding families who went into farming around 1910. These are the families that have cash incomes, good houses, good clothes, good automobiles. It is now the impoverished horse owner who is the undesirable. His children are marrying the poor and the orphaned.[141]

SUMMARY.—After a decade of prosperity, an accident of climate created a social upheaval among the Blood. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920 practically annihilated the cattle and reduced the erstwhile successful herder to penury, at least in terms of a money economy. But he still possessed sufficient horse wealth to validate his prestige as he had always done. His waning security, however, led to a compulsive buying of privilege, more particularly in the Horn Society, whose members' power to sorcerise may well have been an added inducement during this time of deprivation.[142]

The farmers suffered also, but only temporarily. With their profits from wheat they bought up the few remaining cattle, and made no effort to compete for recognition with their few horses. They continued to improve their land and buildings, to furnish their houses comfortably, to dress their wives and children in style. The drought and depression of the early thirties, however, forced many of them on the relief rolls of the agency. Discouraged they have ceased to cultivate their crops. Today, the better land is being concentrated in the hands of the few.

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[139] Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women and white traders (see story of Revenge Walker, p. 11). They are known by the name of their father (Creighton, Davis, Gladstone, Beebe, etc.).

[141] No formal statistics on marriages were collected, but the present statement of trends seems justified by remarks of informants, direct observation, and an examination of marriages recorded by the agency census.

[142] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navajo Witchcraft*. Discussing a rise in the last two years "in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches," he writes: "While this increase . . . may also be connected with the relative economic prosperity of this interval, I am inclined to regard both the witchcraft and the ceremonial phenomena as alternative responses directed toward the preservation of a badly disturbed equilibrium." Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, *Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indians*, MSS.

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

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I showed that families with low and unstable incomes that were not clustered with others under a single roof were likely to reside on land owned by an elder kinsmen, and were likely to engage in intense economic cooperation with some other household or households. Thus, except for domicile, these exceptions fitted the multiple-family household form. In all, 36 (49 per cent) of the total sample of 73 households were involved in mutual economic assistance. Furthermore, 59 per cent of all 88 families in a sample taken in 1966 were involved in economic assistance networks. These economic data and the kin units that accompanied them highlighted the low order position of the sample households in the United States class structure. These findings and those of other field workers (Hunsell 1967; Jorgensen 1970) let me to select economic factors as the main variables in the following analyses.

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I found that economic resources greatly affect the cycle of families. Heart Butte District families began their history in a dependent status by residing with a parent of one of the spouses. As time passed, families eventually achieved independence during a period of the highest earning years (30's and 40's). Following this was a brief period of continuing independence when earnings or stable welfare incomes were sufficient to maintain separate households. The fourth and final stage grouped together dependent families, or parentless grandchildren, or chronically unemployed adult offspring, with aged persons in the ascending generation. I found that the simplicity or complexity of households was largely the result of economic conditions. Income, among those in my previous sample, was a better predictor of

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13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana



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family type than age of family heads. This hypothesis will be tested further in the forthcoming chapters. Resources--land, other capital, and jobs--are so meager that families must continually strive to assist one another by making the best of fluctuating resources. If family heads held steady jobs or enjoyed other stable resources, age would likely be a much better predictor of family type. However, Indian families generally cannot achieve the middle class position, characterized by nuclear families, for reasons already given and others that will be discussed in coming chapters.

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In a previous analysis (Ibid 1968b) I also included a brief resume of my findings in Augusta, Montana, a small predominantly white town near the Blackfeet reservation. I showed that Augusta--also a rural satellite community--is steadily depopulating. More than 80 per cent of the young people leave Augusta permanently for urban centers. They leave because employment and business opportunities in their home community are far too scarce. They are able to seek and find training and employment because they have some financial backing from their families, are heavily imbued with middle-class values of striving and achievement, and they do not face race discrimination away from home, as do the Blackfeet.

Those who remain behind in August have stable incomes, with few exceptions. As a result there is but one multiple-family household in a sample of 128 households and few miscellaneous kin and non-kin crowded under a single roof. In Augusta small, single-family ranches are rapidly giving way to large corporate range enterprises. Many

elders remain, having sold out, to live out their years on Social Security and small investments. (One in five persons is 65 years of age or older.) Younger family heads, and often their spouses, work at steady jobs (Forest Service, local service and sales businesses, and schools). Augusta is in a similar environmental setting and has a comparable population to Heart Butte, but here the resemblances end. Resources available to at least 50 per cent of the Blackfeet families are pathetically sparse because of neo-colonial policies, the nature of the United States political economy, and racial antagonism. Blackfeet households were found to be far more crowded because of unstable economic resources and, in addition, housing is much poorer than in Augusta. The growth of local and more distant metropolises (the ever-growing corporate or individual ranching interests) have had serious repercussions in Heart Butte and Augusta. But the burden shouldered by the Blackfeet is much greater. Another other disadvantages suffered by the Blackfeet, I discovered that only about 40 per cent of the young Blackfeet reservation inhabitants leave the reservation and stay away, leaving the remaining, growing population to struggle with ever-diminishing per capita resources. However, the Heart Butte residents would very likely leave for urban centers to seek jobs if they did not have some protection and services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, access to Public Health Service facilities, and welfare income.

My comparisons of the 1966 Blackfeet family cycle with the 1921 Blackfeet cycle showed that the two were very similar in types, mean ages of family heads for each type, and stages through which the families

114 passed. However, intra-family economic dependencies and household
592 population had increased. In Chapter III of this work I explore com-
178 parisons of 1921 and 1966 households in much greater detail. I double
127 the 1921 sample by including the Old Agency District farming and ranch-
ing cooperatives, acreages cultivated correlated with family type (a
128 test of my hypothesis concerning family types and economic resources not
121 made previously), racial ancestry of unsuccessful and relatively success-
ful farmers, ranchers, and wage earners, among other topics.

I also analyzed Blackfeet family ethics, using twenty conjugal
114 pairs who were raising or had raised children in Heart Butte, and showed
593 that repeated exposures to a wide range of kinsmen, brought about mainly
591 by economic need, generate cooperativeness and generosity. At least 50
577 per cent of the families in my sample could not successfully pursue the
114 individualistic Protestant ethic because poverty thrusted them back on
577 kinsmen for economic support. I imputed a middle class ethic to those
511 who succeeded economically, based on my observations of their behavior.
[182] Families with incomes of approximately $4,000 per annum and up tended to
114 sever mutual economic assistance relationships and generally their re-
591 sources are consumed by the individual family unit. Automobiles, land,
593 houses and home improvements are purchased when possible. Generally a
511 strategy of individual family enrichment is pursued, at least during the
period when these families are doing reasonably well.

And finally, I briefly assessed the authority positions of males
114 and females in the parental generation. Authority in the family was
593 strongly linked with control and ownership of family dwellings and the
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13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana



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and seasonal jobs, a high dependency on welfare, and partial reliance on leased land revenues. A few families moved off the reservation and gained independence, although these, except one, are near enough to the reservation to frequent tribal festivities and to visit their kin and friends. These families can easily move to the reservation if necessary to reap the benefits of mutual aid from their kin.

The model of the United States class structure described and set down in Chapter I applies to the data presented here. We have seen in this brief chapter how Blackfeet families strive to attain a middle-class niche. To do so a stable income of at least $4,000 per annum is required for a single family. In my work and in Jorgensen (1971) and Hunsell (1967) it has been demonstrated that household size generally declines with rising per capita income, which indicates single family independence. Based on my earlier findings and partially upon the findings in 1970, the Blackfeet move toward independence as the family cycle progresses into the middle years. For perhaps a decade or two many families realize a quasi-middle-class existence (see Robbins 1968a for discussion of the family cycle). I term this status position "quasi-middle-class" because families must always keep an eye on the future by maintaining strong kin ties in the event that mutual economic aid is needed. One cannot break these ties entirely without jeopardizing potential economic assistance sometime in the history of his family. Kin ties, then, are strengthened and jeopardized by economic exigencies. One must be on hand to receive and give assistance because few can depend on available resources for self-maintenance throughout the cycle

128 563 livestock, jobs). It has been shown that meager agricultural resources created mutual assistance co-ops, either in the form of multiple-family 511 units or small groupings of households. Those with the greatest re- 592 sources (except one ranching co-op) maintained independent households. 474 The relationships demonstrated show that in the past an underclass, 128 neo-colonial status, as it has been defined, prevailed for the majority of rural reservation inhabitants; the data presented in Chapter II 241 demonstrate the persistence of this status up to 1970. The full-bloods, 735 and many others, were not able to marshall sufficient capital (land, 563 cash, equipment) to raise themselves above the underclass position. More and more of the reservation land resources have come under the control of off-reservation White ranchers, White men married to Indian women on the reservation, and enterprising mixed-bloods. The majority of those who attempted farming or ranching became discouraged by meager 511 capital and the vicissitudes of weather. The descendants of those left behind in this process of narrow selection are today engaged in sharing, for the most part, meager but different types of resources (wage labor, welfare, and leased land revenues).

511 128 168 Because of increased population and no dramatic rise in per capita resources, general material circumstances and conditions on a relative basis do not seem to have improved, indeed, the situation appears worse based on my analyses and criteria (household population, the incidence of multiple-family households, cooperating inter-house- 592 holds clusters, and miscellaneous dependents). The household, its size, 582 composition and economic ties with other households, has proved to be a 511

592 182 571 critical and highly sensitive indicator of economic conditions.

## The Family Cycle, 194 Families and Remnant Families, 1921

121 We have analyzed and reviewed the economic differences and similarities between the households and families of 1921 and 1966, along with comparisons of household composition and population. These topics require further analysis through comparisons of the family cycle of the past and present. This treatment of the data will provide additional and meaningful contrasts and likenesses.

114 In a previous analysis I worked out the family cycle of the rural Blackfeet households sampled in 1966 (Robbins 1968a). To do this I used a synchronic sample and determined, using the eta-square correlation ratio, the degree to which age of family heads fluctuated with family types. The obtained value was .29, which means that in 29 per cent of the cases age of heads and family types fluctuated together; this is of only modest predictive value. Family cash income in 1966 was a much better predictor (.53) of family types than age of family heads.

114 592 182

128 592 In Correlation Ratio Diagram II, which follows, I test the relationship between age of heads and family types for the families in the two rural districts in 1921. The obtained ratio of .33 is very similar to the .29 ratio obtained in a test of the 1966 rural sample. The ratios show that the family cycle of the past was very much like the present. There are specific differences, however, as will be seen as this portion of my analysis proceeds.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 100]

592 youngsters' parents in the flood of 1964. The elderly couple inhabits
591 a flood house in Moccasin Flat, the poorer section of Browning. The
602 grandchildren occasionally stay with their uncles or aunts in the rural districts when school is not in session. There are no available kinsmen who can manage the care of eight additional children in their households year around since all are now raising sizable families of
592 their own. The grandparent-grandchild household, although overcrowded
603 and seriously underfunded, is an exceptionally happy one. The children
511 deeply love their grandparents and are unfailingly eager to assist with household tasks, including care of younger siblings.

592 Near this low-income grandparent-grandchild household is a low-
511 income nuclear family. The female spouse of the household head is a
602 niece of the female and male in the Grandparent-grandchild household.
423 The dwelling is owned and rented by the elders. Assistance from the
429 elders is meager, except for the provision of a dwelling at minimal cost. The young family has two other kinsmen available in Browning who
592 could assist them--a married brother and married sister of the female--
511 but these, too, are involved in raising sizable families. They have
602 above average incomes, are climbing out of the poverty their parents
416 knew, and are disinclined to offer money assistance to other related families.

Two other cases, both large households, cope as best they can with their meager resources. There is substantial assistance between the two; one is headed by the father of the male household head in the other. Transportation, child care, and occasional pooling of cash

592 511 602 476 occur between the two households. No other kin are immediately available to offer aid to either of the cases.

The thirteenth exception consists of a nuclear family household whose head is in his fifties and who, along with his spouse, cares for a brother (of the male head) and four offspring. The only kinsmen available to this family who can give assistance is a son whose small nuclear family inhabits a BIA trailer in the government compound in [434] Browning. The son, his wife and infant are struggling on a $4,000 per annum income, yet they assist the male's parents with cash whenever possible.

At this point I have discussed thirteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. The fourteenth, another independent nuclear [434] family household, is headed by a 55-year-old male who earns $3,700 per annum, a sum very close to the cut-off point used in Table 23. Next door to this sizable household (eight persons in all) reside a married daughter, her husband and one offspring. Mutual aid is frequent between the households. Male and female in the younger family are fully employed. They are occasionally able to assist the elders with some cash, 592 but generally labor and transportation are given mutually. These house- 602 holds, in their economic dealings with each other, are similar in opera- 476 tion to the household clusters described and analyzed by Robbins (1968a, 1968b), as is the low-income grandparent-grandchild household which provides a dwelling for a married niece, which may also be properly 602 placed in this category. These cases suggest that kinship neighborhoods 591 may be fairly common in Browning. My sample certainly suggests this 592

602 possibility, as the cases discussed below strongly indicate. I know no
591 household head or his spouse who does not have some closely related kin
592 in or near Browning.

592 Another case further illustrates mutual kin and economic ties.
602 This consists of a male, age 39, who heads a large independent nuclear
476 family. While his income is low--but $2,700 in 1967--he was at the time
(434) engaged in ranching, an undertaking that permitted some economic amenities such as meat for the family larder which is not reflected in cash
(625) income. Presently the man and his family reside in Browning where the
(464) man is employed as a policeman for the Tribe; he and his family live near the man's mother. The mother is the head of a grandparent-grandchild household (only one grandchild). Food, transportation services, and household work are mutual between these households. The male, however, is now able to assist his mother more frequently than in the past.
(128) This is the fifteenth exception to my hypothesis.

(434) One of the remaining three cases is a conjugal pair whose household income is $2,700, which yields a well above average per capita figure. Of the final two cases, one consists of a small nuclear family which receives considerable aid from the female spouse's mother--labor, some cash, and occasionally quarters (in summer). The other resides in Browning within two blocks of the low-income household in which her daughter resides.

592 The eighteenth and final case is a middle-age couple hosting ten
511 offspring and one grandchild. The household income is a meager $3,300 per annum. The hardships facing this family from week to week are

terribly unpleasant. The only kinsmen in Browning this family has is a married brother to the male head. The brother, however, struggles to make a living on a small income; he and his spouse (no other dependents) occupy a small ramshackle dwelling in Moccasin Flat. The eleven-person, low-income family calls upon anyone it possibly can for small loans or food; at times they seek aid from a prominent rancher and friend who lives at Little Badger Creek in the Heart Butte district. It would be most difficult for this family to move in with a host family even if someone were available to offer such aid--the household population could, I believe, prove far too inconvenient for both host and guest families.

I have now explained the eighteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. I add that the nineteen cases in the upper left quadrant in Table 23 maintain their independence to a far greater degree than the eighteen exceptions, although some of them provide some aid to kin and friends. Before taking up the subject of the Browning family cycle a few additional comments are in order.

In my previous analyses (Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970) I advanced and confirmed the hypothesis that where family income is low and unstable related families are likely to pool resources by joining under a single roof. But I also pointed out that household clusters (two or more residences located on the land of an elder kinsmen where mutual economic assistance is intense) form to accomplish essentially the ends as are found in multiple-family households. I also discovered that in 1970 two clusters of unrelated persons occurred in Heart Butte. These

592 consisted of destitute guest families that had been permitted to reside
476 in otherwise vacant dwellings owned by a close friend at no cost. The host families also provided land. The two clusters, consisting of two
592 households each, do not involve intense mutual aid on a scale witnessed
476 among related families, but the formation of such clusters demonstrates
602 that close relationship is not always the major consideration in deciding whether low and unstable families will offer or receive aid from one another. However, I knew of no households in which unrelated families had joined together for mutual or unilateral aid.

592 I also discovered in Browning and in the rural regions that fami-
602 lies with relatively high incomes are reluctant to host their poorer
511 close kin. I was told by several household heads and their spouses that
476 they had worked hard for what they had and felt that they would definitely jeopardize themselves by "giving too much." Generally the younger, higher earners avoid hosting families; as my data have shown for all current samples, only two multiple-families and two household clusters were recorded in which one generation or host family contributed all or nearly all of the income (or a dwelling) in the units. It is mutual need that usually draws families together. This generalization also applies to the Browning "neighborhood kin units" where mutual aid often reaches a level similar to that found among the rural household clusters.

178 563 464 182 cannot qualify for jobs, hence seasonal or employment results. It goes on and on with each generation. Meanwhile, Whites and mixed-bloods are entrenched in positions where they can assist their kin in obtaining the few opportunities that are available. The majority of full bloods, therefore, continue to form an economic sub-stratum. That discrimination in hiring full bloods exists is unquestionable. But this does not always take the form of racial bigotry per se. It is more the result of meager economic opportunities for everyone and a form of competition which favors the abilities of Whites and mixed-bloods. It is these few Whites and mixed-bloods (and a very few full bloods) who climb up to a lower middle-class position on the reservation. The remainder are caught in an underclass position.

592 511 182 I have shown that economic factors strongly influence household composition, as is the case in the rural sample. I have shown that in Browning inter-household mutual economic assistance is rather commonplace among low-income related families, as was also found in the rural districts.

434 464 563 811 182 Length of employment is a strong determiner of amount of earned income; racial composition is strongly associated with length of employment and income amount; and finally, educational and vocational training are least though somewhat associated with full employment. The adult male or female who works twelve months of the year, has eleven or more years of educational or vocational training and who is one-half or less Indian is most likely to be relatively successful in earning more than $2,800 per annum according to my findings.

592
586 Broken unions among single household heads are not necessarily indicators of overall marital stability. Among the rural adults who had been or were married at the time I contacted them, I found that for every divorce or permanent separation there are 4.4 marriages
586 (common law, civil, church marriages). This ratio of permanent separa-
191 tions or divorces reflects a reasonably stable marital pattern. By comparison with other populations, Lynd and his associates (Lynd 1956) found that in 1924 at "Middletown" there were 42 divorces per 100 marriages; there was more instability in Lynd's sample then the rural Blackfeet. At Middletown the divorce rate was 42 per cent while the rate among the rural Blackfeet is 22 per cent, a difference of 20 per cent. The divorce rate, to provide additional comparative data, in Los Angeles County, California, is about 50 per cent at present. I
581 realize these comparisons are not as meaningful as they should be. An additional factor is that marriage among the Blackfeet is generally regarded as a more or less permanent arrangement only if cohabitation lasts more than six months. More casual unions are rather frequent and are not included in the figures given here, nor are they regarded as marriages by participants so far as I was able to determine.

## Conclusions

369
592
511 Browning households, based on my findings, are only slightly more prosperous than the rural Heart Butte inhabitants. Median household
592 income is about $3,700 compared with $3,550 in the Heart Butte area.
369 Earned income accounts for a greater percentage of total household income
431

592 and conversely, welfare and leased land income are also smaller in
369 percentages than in the rural area. However, I pointed out that seven
434 households of the 39 interviewed intensively receive almost 50 per cent of the earnings and these households have joint husband-wife earners. The earning in this small number of households strongly affect the percentage of earned income for the entire sample. The have-nots, that is, the majority of the lower or non-earning households, are far down the line in total income.

592 Multiple-family households occur in very sma-l percentages in
596 Browning; only five of 89 households canvassed for household composition
128 were multiple-family in form. This is only slightly above five per cent
369 compared with the 21 per cent in the rural area, a statistically significant difference at the .05 level. However, Browning households with
592 incomes of less than $4,000 per annum are engaged in frequent kin-based
511 economic aid. These households form tiny kin neighborhoods where there
369 is frequent face-to-face contact and exchange of money, labor, and emo-
602 tional support. About 45 per cent of the households in the intensively interviewed sample of 39 were involved in these mutual assistance groups. Those who earn $4,000 or over generally sever economic ties, at least much more so than do the lower income households. These families tend to live to themselves and to place their resources at the disposal of their individual families in a somewhat middle class style.

592 Browning and Heart Butte area demographics are similar. In each,
369 youngsters 21 or younger make up about 60 per cent of the samples, those
128 22 to 64 about 35 per cent, and elders 65 and over between 3 to 5 per

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has further tested and confirmed my three basic hypotheses: (1) the low and unstable income (or other resources) causes related families to join under a single roof, if kin are available to form such households, or (2) that low and unstable family income (or other resources) also causes related families to live adjacent to one another on land owned by an elder kinsman to form intensive cooperative units and to defray rental expenses; (3) scarce economic resources in the past (1921) brought about intensive cooperation among related and unrelated families which continues today.

The data presented in this and my earlier Blackfeet studies demonstrate a low, marginal position of the Blackfeet in the American society and economy. This position, described as neo-colonial and labeled underclass, has been empirically established. Stability and amount of income were poor in 1966 and remained so in 1970 when I conducted my follow-up study.

In the rural districts (Heart Butte and adjacent regions) families that form multiple-family households and land clusters are engaged in intensive mutual economic assistance. In 1966, 39 per cent of all families studied in this area were so occupied; in 1970, 35 per cent were so involved, a statistically insignificant reduction. Family

592 relocation and kin unit splintering and recombinations largely coincide
511 with economic solvency and insolvency. Those who obtain steady earnings
182 break from the kin units they formerly had joined with so as to enjoy a relatively brief period of independence in the middle class mold. But many of these, later in their family cycle, will likely host younger close kin to give and receive economic aid when earnings slump, usually around age 50 for the family heads. The cycle of initial family dependence, brief independence, and eventual mutual dependency results from
[178] meager access to resources. Since at least 1921 this has been a common pattern in the rural areas included in this study.

241 In the past (1921), as has been documented, farming conducted on
454 a very modest scale brought together those families with the fewest
592 acres under cultivation to form mutual co-op units for maximum utilization of limited resources. Labor, equipment (such as it was) and harvests were shared by small units which consisted on the average of a little
602 over two families. Usually only closely related families formed the
474 co-ops, a pattern very similar to current multiple-families and land
592 clusters which serve to maximize available low cash income, land and
592 dwellings. In 1921 farming and ranching families with above average
511 resources generally operated without assistance from others. The same
178 pattern prevails today; when families achieve modest earnings they too
474 live to themselves, although they maintain kin contacts and occasionally offer aid.

592 Household population from 1921 to 1966 rose from a median of 4.2
178 to 5.8 in the rural districts examined in this study. This occurred

592
434 households joint husband-wife earners are the rule. Overall income distribution in the Browning sample is similar to the rural distribution; earnings rank first, welfare second and leased land income third, although the proportions are somewhat better in Browning where 75 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the income is derived from earnings.

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369 In Browning, as in the rural past, full bloods have least access to resources (mainly jobs) and I again attempted an explanation. In-
[434 come in the Browning sample is associated least with education and
182] training and most strongly with duration of employment. Racial ancestry correlated significantly with income; those who are one-half or less Indian get the steady jobs with the best pay.

592
369 Matrifocality in Browning and in the rural households occur at
429 a rate of about twenty per cent. Young miscellaneous dependents outside the immediate nuclear family units occur at a very high rate in both Browning and the rural areas. These youngsters live with grandparents most often. They do so because they are oftentimes illegitimate children, or their parents are separated or because of overcrowding and insufficient funds in their natal home. Their presence in other households is often an economic asset to the hosting elders because ADC payments may be forthcoming. This exposure to a wide network of kin generates strong emotional attachments between youngsters and those who from time to time host them.

● 511 We have seen in this study how economically precarious the underclass position is. The existence of such a class on the reserva-
511 tion can more fully be described empirically using some of the data
127

511 gathered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For example, the Bureau re-
127 ported in 1969 that one-half of the on-reservation tribal members are
434 unemployed, and this figure includes only employables. Median family
127 cash income is reported to be $1,700 per year, with 4.9 persons forming
511 an average family (BIA 1969). On this basis the reported per capita income is an appalling $330, about $2,300 less than Montana's per capita income and about $2,800 less than the national average (SAUS
128 1968). My income figures are about double the Bureau's figures; I be-
434 lieve this is so because the Bureau does not report welfare and leased
511 land income in its per family median income. Yet even my reported $637 per capita income figure for the rural districts and $770 for Browning are distressingly meager. I realize that much if not all of the reservation is likely classified as rural and that the Montana-wide figure below includes the urban population, but I seriously doubt the rural Montana income is even remotely as low as the Blackfeet.

177 These conditions are no mere fluke of nature. The Blackfeet held
511 an enormous territory which was rich in natural resources, but most of this was soon lost after a succession of treaties. Eventually the tribe was restricted to land deemed least desirable by mining, ranching and farming lobbies. After the present boundaries were set and allotment undertaken, the per capita land base has narrowed with each succeeding generation.

433 In 1969 non-Indian gross agricultural sales from products raised
563 on the reservation amounted to $4,318,717, while Indian ranchers and farmers on the reservation realized a total gross income of $2,427,699

428 requires acquiescence of many owners and the monies received must be
423 credited to the accounts of all heirs. Until more people make wills,
[427] and more frequently pass undivided ownership to fewer people, the land fragmentation will continue to snowball and the work load of the Agency increase in proportion.

426 The trust status of the land makes it poor security for mort-
423 gages, so it is difficult for the owner of such land to borrow money for short or long-term operating expenses and capital improvements. The inability to secure ready financing, the multiple ownership situation, and many other factors that will be introduced later, have contributed to the present economic condition of the tribal members.

433 On February 1, 1960, in an area in which the predominant in-
511 dustries are agriculture and stock raising, it was reported that only
[241] 40 tribal members are farm operators, and of this number it is estimated that perhaps only 10 per cent are farming sufficient acreage to be considered an economic unit. The farming family's income must be
[233] supplemented by wage work. One hundred and fifty families of tribal members are listed as ranchers, with an average of 85 head of beef cattle, or equivalent in sheep. A conservative estimate of the stock required for an economic unit is 100 head, so many of these people may also need supplemental income.

It was estimated that another 27 families are self-supporting, or have received the financing which should make them self-supporting, in business, other non-agricultural enterprises, or as regularly employed wage earners.

452 In a credit appraisal of an estimated 1,200 Blackfeet families, 700 families were listed as having poor security potential. Of these,

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana



452 400 were further qualified as poor in character and poor security risks. These latter had neither the experience nor the aptitude, neither the training nor the inclination, to operate a going enterprise or meet the standards of financial responsibility set by the Council for prospective [434] clients of a Revolving Loan Fund.[49] These figures indicate that approxi- [511] mately 983 families of the tribe are unable to be self-supporting and depend upon casual labor, income from the leasing of lands if they have land, tribal per capita payments and welfare for minimum subsistence.

311 Figures on non-Indians use of reservation land reveal the gap
427 between Indian use and the potential of the region. Seventy-five
433 non-Indian operators lease grazing land for stock enterprises, with an average of 5,067 acres each as compared to an average acreage of 2,666 among the 150 Indian operators. One hundred seventy-five non-Indian farmers cultivate farms that average 560 acres each as compared to an average farm size of 200 acres for the 40 Indian farmers. The non-Indians are operating economic units on land leased from Indian owners. Many more Indian families could be self-supporting on their own land if problems of land ownership, financing, and training are ever solved.

Political and Legal Implications

631 The reservation and tribal organization bring a member into a
642 further regional political alignment, in many respects akin to a municipal political division. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1935 and

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[49] Unpublished documents of the Blackfeet Tribal Council, verified by the Loan Office of the Blackfeet Indian Agency.

125 individual differences should show a tendency to cluster in a few
121 contrasting combinations when plotted on a scattergram, indicating that adaptation has not been random but patterned in socially approved ways. The resulting clusters can then be described and variations within them can be examined.

125 The schedule provides several interrelated orders of data: A A

1. Vital statistics--age, marital status, number of children, years of schooling and similar information.

2. Genetic data--the degree of Indian admixture of the subject and his parents.

3. Economic data--what a man does to make a living, his average annual income, type of housing, home furnishings, land use and ownership, automobile ownership and care.

4. Cultural information--includes languages spoken, religious beliefs and practices, curing practices, lore, reading habits, all of which inquire into beliefs and practices that a man has acquired from one or both cultures.

5. Social data--the organizations to which a man belongs, the recreational activities in which he engages, and the kinds of people with whom he most frequently associates. The social data has cultural components. Some of these organizations, games and other activities stem from Indian culture and others from white.

### Selection of the Data to be Used to Segment the Probability Sample

121 Not all of the data are presented. Many items on the schedule
184 fail to differentiate among the sample. The possession of some items
[125] of home furnishings, for example, is broadly similar throughout the
[511] A. [See Category 116, pp. 216-220--Analyst]
A

184 sample and appears closely related to income level. The care and
121 maintenance of these furnishings, however, is another matter and will
[511] be discussed later. Ownership of television sets and radios appears
[207] to depend more upon the availability of electricity than upon cultural
[377] factors or income. Sources of water, and the type of sanitation
[364] facilities appear to depend less upon cultural factors than they do
[312] upon where one lives and what sources of water or facilities for sanitation are available.

[526] Because athletics have been a part of school and community life for at least two generations, they may create interest or
[224] disinterest equally among the more-Indian and the more-white. Similarly,
[226] hunting and fishing are attractive to both Indian and white and are engaged in as recreation rather than as a regular source of meat.

[524] Card playing has been widely accepted in the reservation community and the fact of playing or not playing cards does not split the population into orientation categories. The important thing about card playing is not the playing but rather who plays with whom.

184 Other indices hold greater promise for differentiation. Items
177 concerning cultural orientation are most pertinent for the assessment
121 of degrees of acculturation. All of the population show the effects of acculturation. Everyone, at least nominally, is a Christian; all live in houses, wear predominantly western clothes, and gain their livelihood in a wage economy. Almost everyone speaks some English. They buy their food, clothing and other material wants from stores. It therefore appears to be more useful to isolate variant retentions of some Blackfeet cultural elements instead of attempting an assessment of the degree of acceptance of white ways.

128 apply for relief. One man is single, another has dependents. Even
106 though the two men report the same income figure the latter is the
[434] poorer because his subsistence needs are greater. Recognition of
[657] welfare aid serves to qualify the income figure by recognizing differential subsistence needs. Welfare recipients are scored "0" and non-recipients "1" point.

Table 4 lists the subjects and their point scores on each of these economic factors. The scores are summed resulting in an index of each man's economic standing.

177 The economic indices are used to show the respective ranges
128 of economic achievement of the members of the orientation categories,
● 511 and are shown in Figure 2.

The low economic condition of the Indian-oriented portion of the sample is immediately apparent; all cases are grouped in the lower part of the scale. The indeterminantly oriented subjects are correspondingly low, while the white-oriented subjects range across the entire scale.

It would not be wise, at this time, to generalize from the probability sample to the complete reservation population, because there are Indian-oriented men, from whom no data were gathered, who would score high on an economic scale. It would be safe, however, to state that the information in Figure 2 is indicative of a tendency. While the differences are probably greater within each category than they are between them, the Indian-oriented category, as a whole, would average lower on the economic scale than would the white-oriented.

TABLE 4

ECONOMIC SCORES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PROBABILITY SAMPLE AND THEIR ECONOMIC INDICES

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342
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511

| Case No. | Type of Work | Income | Uses Land | Home Ownership | Type and Condition | Auto and Condition | Part Family Support | Uses Welfare | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 17 |
| 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| 5 | 2 | 1 | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| 6 | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 14 |
| 7 | 4 | 2 | 2 | | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 16 |
| 9 | | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | 4 |
| 10 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | 6 |
| 11 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| 13 | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 11 |
| 14 | | | | 3 | | 2 | 1 | | 6 |
| 17 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| 18 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| 19 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 27 |
| 21 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 23 |
| 25 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 22 |
| 26 | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 2 |
| 27 | | | | 3 | | | 2 | | 5 |
| 28 | | 1 | | | 2 | 2 | 3 | | 8 |
| 29 | | | | | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| 30 | 5 | 4 | | 2 | 4 | | 3 | 1 | 19 |
| 31 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 15 |
| 32 | | | 1 | 3 | | | 2 | | 6 |
| 34 | 2 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| 35 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 27 |
| 37 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 2 |
| 38 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 19 |
| 39 | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 2 |
| 42 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 16 |
| 45 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 21 |
| 46 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 3 | 1 | 12 |
| 47 | | | 1 | 3 | | | 3 | | 7 |

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511
128

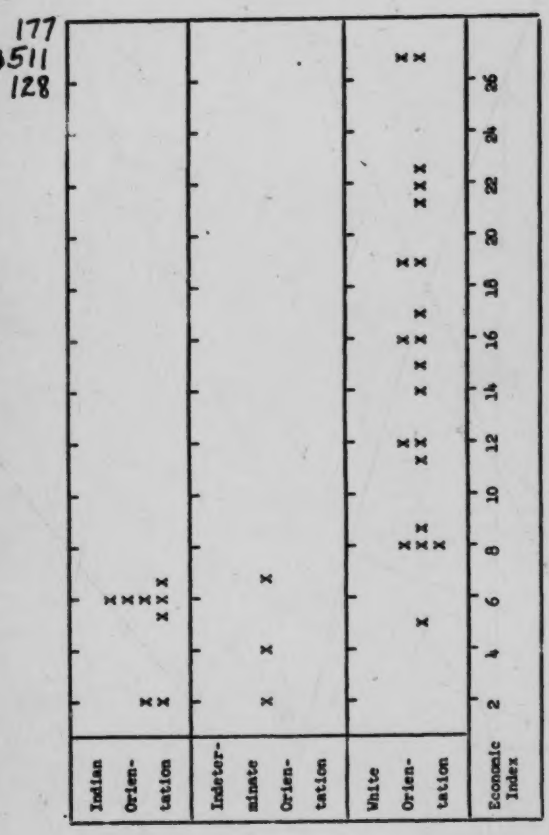


Figure 2. Comparative Economic Achievement of the Indian, Indeterminate, and White-Oriented Categories.

434 While the sample covers a wide economic range, none of the
184 men could be called wealthy. Two cases are comparatively well-off
511 with annual incomes that approximate $9,000, but the average income for the sample is $2,300 with only twelve of the thirty-one cases making the average or above. The median annual income for males in Glacier County in 1959 was $3,119,[169] but the median income for the sample is only $1,800. Only twelve cases attain an index of 14 (the mid-point) or above when measured by the indices of economic achievement. This appears to require a minimum annual income close to the average, a steady seasonal job, residence in better than a shack or cabin, a car, and independence of outside subsistence aid. The income requirements for such an index are not high; a man who gains the upper half of the economic scale is not rich.

Summary

511 The tribal members range over a broad scale of economic
184 achievement. Although some men are well-off, the majority are below the county median, which means there is a large number of persons of
[177] low economic standing. The figures indicate that the Indian-oriented people tend to range lower than the white-oriented on the economic scale and observation supports this.

571 Economic achievement is only one more dimension to consider in
184 the derivation and description of the reservation social structure. If

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[169] U.S., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28C, pp. 152, 157.

177 184 183 829 461

Just run around in the car, I had to do something. I've always had a job and haven't had to ask the people for anything. (mixed-blood business employee)

My parents emphasized hard work, honesty, thrift, and education. The Indians are clannish, but I'm more of a lone wolf. I'd rather take care of myself than to get help from the family.

I have fee patent title to my land so I can make my own deals without all the red tape and delay that you get at the Agency.

The best days were under Stone and Campbell when everybody had a farm and were working. (S-38)

Indians drop out of college because they haven't learned the value of an education. They can't manage their own affairs. In college its all up to you. I have a tribal scholarship and work during vacations. I have an interest in the family ranch and help there and work for other ranchers too. (S-7)

184 177 183 [461] [871] [511]

Many more clues appear scattered through the interview data, and gained additional support from observation. White-oriented people prefer to be busy. They do not spend much time with the street corner groups. Often both husband and wife hold steady jobs and in some cases, both are working and saving to develop a ranch or business for future economic independence. White-oriented persons are more concerned about the education and future of their children; they encourage them to go on to college, or to get other training beyond high school. They give more attention to improving their homes, and feel the need to acquire and better maintain furniture, appliances, equipment, and automobiles. They early encourage their children to take some responsibility, to work, and to plan for their future.

177 183 171

The values expressed in the interviews and observations are similar, in kind, to those commonly attributed to middle class Americans. The emphasis upon, and appreciation of work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness noted in the above quotations, and the additional characteristics of concern for education and for the future,

184 projects. The leaders in F.F.A., 4-H, Boy and Girl Scouts, and the
177 Youth Club are either whites or tribal members of this class. These
565 people sponsor the Easter Egg Hunts, the Fishing Derbies, local sports events and the rodeos. They are not always the leaders, but are the active supporters of community, church, and school enterprises.

Middle status people are active politically. Tribal Council positions, and a few county elective offices are sought and often won by people of this classification, and they are actively supported or opposed, advised or criticized, by their peers.

Not all middle status persons have good homes, but evidence [356] of improvement is apparent in the houses they do have. This may amount to anything from a fresh coat of paint on interior walls, to a new roof, a new entry way, or the addition of one or more rooms. In the home condition ratings on the socioeconomic data, two of the fourteen homes of white-oriented middle status sample members were [351] scored excellent and nine good. The middle status people do not all plant lawns and gardens, but with rare exceptions, all lawns and gardens are planted by middle or high status white or white-oriented people.

[511] Home improvement, and a tendency toward the acquisition of more
[183] furniture, appliances, and other possessions with increased income, demonstrate the underlying values of acquisitiveness and material comfort. White-oriented people, above the low status category, buy,

use, and care for more home furnishings and appliances.[190] A middle class American would recognize an attempt to make the house "homelike"—a quality that is seldom achieved in the same way by the Indian-oriented regardless of financial condition. This elusive and hard to define impression may become clearer by contrast with Indian-oriented homes described later.

The white-oriented tend to identify home and possessions with family status. One white community leader, acquainted with sociological literature, assessed the class positions of the town, and used home improvement as a key to attempted upward mobility. Even Indian-oriented people are aware of this quality of white living. An Indian who acquires too many appliances and other home furnishings is accused of "trying to live like a white man."

White-Oriented High Status

Highest status among the white-oriented persons is held by a few men or families who own large farms or ranches, or operate successful businesses. In most respects they resemble the middle status people in that they are industrious, ambitious, acquisitive, and active in community

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[190] Some of this is reflected in the socioeconomic data. Twelve of the middle status white-oriented persons used gas, oil, or electric ranges, while only one of the three lower status, and none of the Indian-oriented subjects had other than wood ranges. Radios were widely owned, but a check shows that of those who reported no radios owned, six were Indian-oriented and one was white-oriented lower status. Television sets were owned by no Indian-oriented, one of three lower status white-oriented, eleven of fourteen middle status white-oriented, and all three upper status white-oriented families. These figures do not reflect properly the range of the Indian-oriented for reasons that will be shown later.

177 184 565 554 555 that plan and stage the Indian Days celebration and holiday dances, and attempt to live up to the highest values of the group. Their families are supporting them in this move. The brother of one such man spoke of him proudly:

> My brother quit drinking twenty years ago and learned Indian singing. He won a singing contest and now he's a champion singer. He's the boss.

[626] Others support the similar ambitions of one of their relatives; they say that this man "isn't so much of a singer" and that he really "doesn't know much" about Blackfeet ways. His ambitions are being challenged as a part of the validation process he must go through.

Several younger men appear to be grooming for the more acculturated high status positions. They are already learning Blackfeet traditions from their elders, and at the same time are applying themselves to their education. The valedictorian of the high school class of 1960 appears to be a likely candidate for a position as an Interpreter. He is continuing his education and gaining experience in American society; he is fluent in both languages, and he has been a good student of Blackfeet culture. His Indian-oriented accomplishments and success in school already have gained him the respect of the Indian-oriented, and his school accomplishments, in turn, have earned him the respect of many in the white and white-oriented community.

[191] [871]

177 184 565 554 353 183 511 [123] Much of the description of modern Indian-oriented life is based upon participant observation among people of this middle status, and familiarity with this group sheds light on a question raised earlier about the Indian attitude toward material comfort and possessions. It was mentioned that the Indian-oriented appeared to have fewer possessions,

177 and gave them less care than did the white-oriented. Their houses were
184 said to lack a "home-like" quality familiar to a middle class American.
565 The observation of middle status Indian-oriented people gave support to
554 these statements.
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183 The observer visited many kinds of Indian homes and found one
511 characteristic common to all, regardless of the size of the house or the financial standing of the owner. They were places in which to sleep and eat, but there little evidence of any concern for comfort. Several homes had "everything"--a davenport, overstuffed chair, refrigerator, lamps, radio and television. In these homes, however, the furniture appeared to be little used, the lamps and appliances were apt to be out of order and poorly maintained. Other parts of the house gave evidence of more care. Beds were neatly made and kitchen areas were orderly and clean. Both bedrooms and kitchens showed signs of being lived in. Family photographs, religious calendars and pictures, and Remington prints decorated the walls and tops of chests of drawers. Visiting with family and friends is done outside, or in the kitchen if the weather is bad.

The present data do not reveal why Indian-oriented people buy appliances and furniture. Perhaps they recognize these as white status symbols. Nevertheless, some Indian-oriented people buy these "material comforts," but their use and care of them suggest that they are not highly valued among that group.

## Summary

177 In review, the Indian-oriented society is seen to have a differ-
184 ing set of values than the white-oriented group, and their judgements of
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15: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1949) 1950 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

buffalo, and with no resources other than an abundance of land, an opportunity to exchange their surplus land for the means of making a living, to obtain an education for their children, and to gain experience in the white man's civilization of which they must henceforth be a part.

One has but to compare the figures from the Annual Reports of the Blackfeet Agents for the years 1886 (before the assistance offered under the first Land Agreement became available) with those for the year 1900 (with seven more years of aid ahead under the provisions of the second Land Agreement) to realize how much this assistance meant to the South Piegan in the short period of 14 years.

| | 1886 | 1900 |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Indians who can read | 18 | 900 |
| Number who wear citizens dress | 40 | 2,085 (all) |
| Horses and mules owned by Indians | 1,205 | 22,004 |
| Cattle owned by Indians | None | 12,000 |
| Acres cultivated by Indians | 12 | 500 |
| Oats, barley, rye harvested | 30 bu. | 700 bu. |
| Vegetables harvested | 100 bu. | 3,700 bu. |
| Hay cut | 170 tons | 6,000 tons |

As a serious student of Blackfeet cultural history for more than 15 years it is my opinion that in no other period of comparable duration have the South Piegan made such progress. It is my further belief that this progress would not have been possible without the annual expenditures for their benefit under the terms of the land agreements.

[p. 163]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



175 though he signed the treaty, refused to obligate himself to the whites,
648 by accepting a medal. Little Person, Eagle Robe, Chief Calf, all respected men and chiefs, were excluded or refused to be honoured in this manner. They knew they were chiefs even without a medal and a gold-braided uniform. But the whites were very well satisfied with their accomplishment; they had subdued the most war-like tribe of the northern plains. They were oblivious of the internal complications that were shortly to arise because of the selection of chiefs.

## Post-Treaty Movements

648 The Blackfoot, after this brief interruption of their usual move-
721 ments, immediately moved off in search of buffalo and against tribes south of the boundary from whom they could steal without breaking the newly signed treaty. For the first year after treaty Blackfoot life changed no more than the ego of an infant changes after christening. In his own band Crowfoot forbade raiding parties against the Crees, though other chiefs who lacked his feeling of respon-
657 sibility permitted their young men to go out. Back at Blackfoot Crossing and Fort McLeod on the first anniversary of the payment, the Indians were disconcerted at receiving a smaller payment than before, but with a show of firmness, dignified by a knowledge of the terms of the treaty, Colonel McLeod was able to settle this question. The Indians solved the problem, too, for they discovered that by changing from a Hudson's Bay blanket to a buffalo robe and by using another name they could get as much if not more than formerly. The cattle had not arrived for distribution. But as the Indians did not wish to be encumbered by these stinking beasts, Colonel McLeod was relieved of having to explain his failure to carry out that part of the treaty.

[136] Things were moving according to plan. The end of the buffalo
[224] had been predicted by the whites to occur towards the end of the eighties. During this time hunting would provide for the Indians. In the meantime the Blackfoot would be gradually broken to the rein by increasing police supervision to keep them on their reserve and by giving them cattle and farm implements to provide them with sustenance.

511 It was, then, a surprise to the whites, as well as to the Indians,
[224] to see the tragic bands that straggled into Blackfoot Crossing and Fort McLeod in the summer of 1879. All winter they had searched

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



for buffalo. Scouts had ridden forth from the camps in four directions, but days later they returned reporting nothing, or a lone bull. Sent back to bring in the bull, they would search often in vain. Or, if found, it would provide only for the children. Deer, too, seemed to have moved away, and people greedily ate skunks, badgers, porcupines, and gophers. But as they threw the bones to the dogs, hunger still gnawed in their bellies, and people tore up grass to eat. The old people died, unable to endure the privations or to muster strength for the long marches. Pushed far into the outer edge of their usual hunting ground, the camps were subject to easy raid by the Dakotas and the Crows who took full advantage. Sickness descended upon the herds and further reduced their numbers. Some luckier camps, following the advice of Father Scollen, went north to the Saskatchewan River where they received rations from Governor Laird in return for their labour. They learned to eat fish and muskrat like Crees and were relatively well off. But when they turned south in spring, they found the scattered bands with parfleches empty, reduced to eating carrion. Many chiefs turned north and west in their plight, imploring aid from the whites. To Fort McLeod and Calgary came a file of emaciated men and women, children with swollen bellies, a few bony horses doubly burdened, all trailed by the ever-present scrawny dogs.

At Fort McLeod the Bloods and Blackfoot, driven by hunger, began surreptitiously to shoot and eat the local cattle. Consequently the Blackfoot were sent north to their reserve so that the Bloods could be more easily managed. At Calgary, Inspector C. E. Denny received deputations of gaunt men who demanded food.[1] Afraid of the consequences of refusing, he gave what he could from his own stores. But more Indians kept coming, and his stores were in danger of exhaustion. In haste he sent to Fort McLeod for help. What could he do with these starving people? Soon Colonel McLeod appeared at Blackfoot Crossing. Crowfoot and Old Sun asked for the cattle promised by the terms of the treaty, but fearful of what would happen to these beasts at the hands of hungry Indians, McLeod refused their request. A speedy call was sent to the farming station at Pincher Creek to find a man who would start the Indians to garden and care for cattle. Rations could be issued temporarily, though it would be impossible to provide them for any length of

[1]For a description of the years 1877-1885, cf. C. E. Denny, *Riders of the Plains* (Calgary, The Herald Company, Ltd., 1905).

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



the secret being kept from his own brother and successor, but also by the fact that subsequent head chiefs have uniformly rejected the payment as tainted money. Furthermore, Crowfoot, though honoured in other ways by his own people, has been roundly condemned for this action because he did not consult the other chiefs.

Not only were minor and head chiefs occasionally at odds, but they both conflicted with chiefs unrecognized by whites. This may be one factor accounting for the multiplication of band groups shortly after settling on the reserve. There was also no necessity to maintain large camps for reasons of self-defence, and Inspector Denny urged that the bands scatter over the reserve in order to provide more space for gardens. Furthermore, few chiefs had the means to support a very large group of followers in the old way. From the Unlucky Guns band there arose the Meat Eaters under Little Person, the Many Children under Eagle Calf, besides the original group that remained with Crow Eagle and Bear Child. Similarly, the Bakers of Bannock divided, some going to camp with Calf Bull, others going to the protection of White Eagle. Though deaths were eventually responsible for many movements and changes, those which occurred at this time, mainly from tuberculosis, scrofula, and measles, did not alter the band grouping very much.

These were tricky years for the chiefs in handling their followers. Their obligations to provide clothing and tools for their followers continued, but the main sources of these commodities were the storekeepers. In dealing with them, the only assets were garden produce or horses. Most of the latter had been lost during the two years in the United States. Chiefs faced a dilemma. Some, like Hind Bull, tried hunting in the north for deer but had difficulty in holding together their following because of the scarcity of game. Others, who remained on the reserve and faced white notions of order, risked alienation of those who were still eager to follow the warpath. Order had to be kept even though the seasoned warriors taunted their young society enemies who had never gone to war. Smarting from this ridicule, young men secretly gathered at night in remote coulees and set off south. On their return with stolen horses they faced the prospect of arrest by the Mounted Police. Many a tense moment resulted when the police sought to round up an offender. The old would say, "We used to do things; we were not afraid of the Mounties. We were strong." As a result, lives on both sides were lost while a young Indian, standing alone on a hill-top, proved his courage by defying the police to bring him to justice.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



231 new calves. Under individual care most of the herds multiplied, and the agent felt satisfied with his experiment. More Indians applied when free cattle were given out in the next few years. On receiving $50 to $100 for the sale of a prime steer to the ration house they felt compensated for their past fortitude. Wheatley saw additional signs of progress:

511 Calf Bull, Bear Robe and Medicine Shield have purchased teams of heavier horses, paying from $60 to $100 a team for them. In their houses the improvement is very perceptible by the number of bedsteads, chairs, good stoves, lamps, clocks and household utensils in use.[1]

Even in the west end of the reserve where the opposition was most severe, a few gave evidence of progress:

. . . Little Axe, who, I may say, has set an example to all the other Indians, has a band of forty head of cattle, a good house with shingle roof, well furnished, an ice house, a milk house and a pig-sty.[2]

231 In 1900 there were nearly 600 cattle on the reserve, and the first bitter opposition was gradually being worn down by the obvious success of a few.

465 During the nineties we hear more and more of working for wages.
464 Alexander McGibbon, inspector of agencies, observed with satisfaction in 1891 that four Indians were mowing hay at $2.50 plus partial board per week. Wages were paid to the gang who went into the Rockies to cut logs for houses on the reserve, to the men who dug the irrigation ditch for the gardens of the North Camp, to the teamsters who beat their oxen all the way to High River with coal for the Roman Catholic school. As whites came into the region, more and more young men hired out individually to farmers and ranchers, getting 75 cents a day for binding and 50 cents for threshing. Others remained all summer to help break horses, round up the
432 cattle, and stack the hay. Cash also came from the sale of skin coats and moccasins.

361 The old bands had subdivided into smaller groups that were of
621 a more suitable size for carrying on gardening activities. The new ways of earning a living broke these units down still more. The original band organization was a suitable social structure for a collective nomadic life but not one likely to flourish under sedentary conditions where individual accumulation is rewarded. The early

[178] [182]

[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

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16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



621 river to live and grow rich without the help of White Pup. Old-
178 Woman-at-War left Running Rabbit to care for cattle in his own establishment. In a rage Hind Bull drove out his loyal follower Black who a few years later made a good living on the proceeds from his cattle. By 1910, when the agricultural economy began on the reserve, many a chief's follower had departed.

511 The extreme poverty of the people must be considered an important factor in these changes.[A] As compared with the Blood and Piegan, the Blackfoot were backward. The superintendent of Indian Affairs, James A. Smart, stated in 1900 that of 165 Indian shacks only 46 had shingle roofs, with 44 still no flooring but the beaten earth. Water had to be procured from the Bow River, frequently at a distance of several miles. There were many Indian ponies on the reserve, but they had little market value except for the year or two when Klondike prospectors were buying. Though wagons increased from 36 in 1898 to 148 in 1906, many people still had travois as the only means of transportation. Despite the advent of hay-cutting at the turn of the century, there were only 12 horse rakes and 17 mowers. In 1897, a year not peculiar for its difficulties, more than $25,000 worth of woollen goods was distributed by a Department of Indian Affairs not reputed for its lavishness. Even with rations provided, the Blackfoot were living at an economic standard below that of the most humble whites. At times they were even accused of begging from the whites in town and scheming to swindle the government. When Countess Minto visited the reserve in 1900, Commissioner Laird was vastly relieved that the Indians behaved respectfully and did not trouble the noble lady with complaints. Agent after agent might report in proud phrases signs of progress in neat and well-furnished shacks, but this progress was always judged with the tacitly appended statement: "in consideration of the fact that these Indians have lived only twenty years on the reserve." When a new inspector without knowledge of the past visited the reserve, he viewed affairs in a different light. A. J. Markle, the new agent of 1901, was appalled at the slovenly conditions.

871 The Indians were irritated by the effort to take the children away
[707] and teach them to be whites. The Church of England had introduced many small schools to the band villages on the theory that through education the aborigines could be shown the road to progress. Resistance, though reduced in fifteen years of contact, ran

A [i.e., changes in band structure--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



difficult for these Indians, particularly since they depended on agriculture and herding, for which a good stand of hay and a snowless winter is desirable. Yet, with perseverance, perhaps born of desperation, they steadily worked with their small resources, hunted, hired out to white farmers, built neat log cabins, sent their children to school, and gave every appearance of industry. It was a severe shock for Markle, used to such rigours of existence, to come to the Blackfoot reserve. In comparison with the Sioux and the Salteaux, the Blackfoot were living in a natural paradise. Here was good soil, some hail of course, a comparatively long growing season, and abundant hay for the cutting. Despite all these advantages and free seed for their gardens, little was grown. The cattle stipulated in the treaty had been offered but had been refused by many. Few children were in school. Instead of clean, neat cabins, there were many fetid hovels. Instead of working diligently, the people dressed in buckskins and got drunk at bronco-riding celebrations in neighbouring towns. To make matters still worse, these Blackfoot were living on rations provided by the government, scarcely lifting a finger in their own behalf. The Department was actually fostering indolence. Such conditions did not long continue when Markle became responsible.

In his first report a few months after arrival he had already begun his programme:

> For a good many years after the consummation of Treaty No. 7, these Indians tried to make themselves believe that it was the imperative duty of the government to supply all their food and other requirements, and many of the band positively refused to accept cattle for fear the government might expect them to support themselves. I am particularly pleased to report that many of this band are now beginning to see things differently in this connection and are now exhibiting evidence of a desire to be self-supporting . . .
>
> When every able-bodied Indian possesses a herd of cattle, cultivates a reasonable area of land to provide sufficiency of potatoes, turnips, carrots and garden stuff for household requirements, there will be no necessity for the gratuitous issue of food by the government to strong able-bodied men and women; and hopes may then be entertained of making these moral weaklings good citizens and a credit and profit to our country, and not a burden and expense. . . .
>
> The farming operations are not as extensive as I should like, particularly as regards the growing of potatoes and other roots as well as garden stuff, although I am told—as I have only hearsay evidence—that the Indians put in their grain and attended to their root and garden crop better this season than ever before. The crops now promise a fair return, and, I trust, will be an incentive to them to do greater work in the future . . .
>
> I had charge of the Birtle agency from the summer of 1885 to the end of September last, when I was transferred to this agency, and when I remind the department that the gratuitous issue of food at the former agency did not cost

511 A wealthy Blackfoot who owned cattle at the time[A] described the conditions on the reserve, showing clearly the narrow distribution of wealth:

> Before selling the land, things were tough. I would go on ration day and get a quarter of beef and then have something to help out with. My wife was good and generous, and the meat would be divided among the relations and neighbours. There were others, too. Some old bachelors with no wives were also boarded by my wife. A few were related to her, but the rest were not.
>
> In winter it was hardest to get cash for groceries. Indians would ask for our sleigh to haul coal; one would go to the mines and haul coal to the office. When he got back, another man would want it. My wife finally said, "Let them have the sleigh to make money." These hard times kept on year after year.

[657] When over and above these rather normal difficulties for the poor, free rations were withdrawn entirely, and the self-support rations introduced, poverty became grimmer and hunger more acute. Certainly many chiefs, who were responsible for the welfare of the poor, had neither the herd nor the necessary cash to buy beef. The result was a frantic search for subsistence, which one informant describes as follows:

> [How did people get along without rations?] People had a hard time, but the ones that were working all the time got by all right. People could sell dry wood to white men. The ones without work were very hungry. People with grub gave to the others. This lasted for about a year; if it had been two years, it would have been very hard. I worked as a hired man for white farmers. People were thrashing. Then there were odd jobs among the whites. People planted vegetable gardens which gave them some things to sell. When the crop was ripe, each harvested and divided his own vegetables. Others killed prairie chickens, rabbits and other game. All could barely manage for food.

[571] [464] [241] [224]

511 224 Another solution was to leave the reserve and hunt, which the following informant describes along with the effect of the absence of rations on ceremonial life:

> In my 14th year (1909) at the Sun Dance there were more (cheap) tents than tipis. After two days every one went home because it was no fun. Then all our band moved to Hind Bull's camp. There Hind Bull said to my father: "We'll stay here until after treaty payment. Then we shall go 'way east and hunt." The women all picked berries and tanned hides. After the payment of treaty money, they bought ammunition and moved east. We would hunt every day and kill two or three deer and antelope. Mother made dried meat. She saved the bones and smashed them and cooked them to get fat. In summer father worked for whites, but in the winter they all hunted together on the Red Deer river.

A [i.e., ca. 1910--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



These are in part reversions to former means of satisfying needs, i.e., gardening and hunting, forms of support found during the eighties after moving on to the reserve for the first time.

The picture of white settlers may also have acted as an incentive to surrender land. No Indian who rode the country turnpike and worked a few days at white farms could fail to see the relative advantages of white existence. The Blackfoot may not have known that these farmers were frequently gambling weather conditions against a considerable sum of money owed the railway company for their ready-made farms and that it was a tight squeeze to make these payments. However, in material goods the comparison was obvious. The whites had good clothing, well-furnished houses, barns with good horses and wagons. On Saturday they returned from the store in town, their buggies brimming with groceries. These whites were growing wheat, and when it was stated that the Indians too could grow wheat, if they sold the land, these tangible rewards seemed accessible for the first time.

Further vigour was given to this argument by reports from visitors to other reserves. The Blood Indians had ploughed their land and had been raising wheat since 1908, the North Piegans even earlier. One could readily see the wealth of these Indians. Besides, even the Crees, long despised by the Blackfoot, were farming and would soon be better off than their old enemy.

The realization that there was a case for farming is shown by a reported conversation between a chief and Markle:

> Once, before he was made a chief, the informant went to the Crees and Bloods and saw their farms. So he asked Mr. Markle if they couldn't have farms too. Markle: "You haven't enough money to farm with. The Crees sold land; Bloods sold longhorn cattle for money to start farms." Informant: "Then we'd better sell that land on the other side of the river for money to start farms." Markle: "You can't make that decision yourself. Consult the people and chiefs in a meeting, and see if they want to."

A frequently cited point of view emphasized the desirability of constant rations. Their curtailment was not a new thing, for in the past this device had been used as a means of enforcing conformity to the dicta of the agent. Markle in 1903 describes such an event during his incumbency as agent:

> It may be remembered that, in my last report, I expressed thankfulness that there had been no plural marriages during the preceding year. That report was

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NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



welfare of the poor; he was well fed. He thought only of his own stomach." Words were acrimonious, tempers lost, the meeting-hall a din of angry remarks.

The final meeting in 1910 in which the pro-selling group won may best be described in the words of a participant:

They had a huge meeting at the old office. Before they had this meeting, Markle sent word to me to dress up fine and get a nice democrat and team "lest those who hate you have reason to criticize you." So I dressed up magnificently, new team, harness and democrat. All the people had their eyes on me. I also had the war birds on and my face painted as if going to war because Indians were going to say bad words against me, and this attire was to save my life. Once I had dreamed of a moon-shaped piece of mother-of-pearl. This I had around my neck to make me strong, so I could stand up against the chiefs, for I knew they were going to have strong talk and bad words. I wanted to give myself strength and protection.

Markle told people to sign, not talk. "Don't stand up and say your opinions. Just write your names, who is on the farm side. He [informant] is the only one who is to stand up and talk." Two clergymen, one lawyer, the agent, two clerks, and also two other white men were there as witnesses. They put up a chair for me, and Markle said, "Stand up and speak."

I said: "You remember at treaty in 1877, Weasel Calf was as if blinded and had no idea how much an acre was. For myself, I am not a war-coups chief, but we are becoming white and shall farm. We must know how much we get for an acre, not like at treaty time, when we never did know how much we got. Those chiefs were blinded. When we sell land, we make money. If we don't we just live on our horses, and selling horses will exhaust our income. Selling land means we shall have farm land and money and will live good. We cannot just live on the nines, for only a little comes in to a few people. Selling half the reserve means we can live on the money. We are not selling all of it. Part will be leased to whites, and that will bring money." Then, turning to Markle: "Markle, this is the last piece of land we sell as long as I live. This is the end. If any unsold land is needed, we shall lease it to whites instead of selling it." At the end of this speech, every one signed. Two clerks took it down. Each chief had to sign his own name. There were two papers, one with the ayes and the other with the nays. All clapped hands when word was announced who had won. All whites shook hands with me because I was the only one who stood up and talked. Handkerchiefs and tobacco were handed out to the women.

This was a significant day for the Blackfoot. As they drove their teams back to the log shacks along the river they did not know that they were to become the wealthiest Indians in Canada. After thirty years of marginal existence on a reserve, basic economic security was no longer to be a major concern for them. The days of potato-patch nourishment and government-given apparel were over; an agricultural life with new problems faced the tribe.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



the end of the season they recommend whether or not to harvest the crop, count the bushels, and notify the book-keeper at the agency how much each Indian has made.

To carry out the instructions, each farmer must have four work horses with harness, a plough, seeder, cultivator, and binder. In 1941 four horses, bought with trust money, were given to each new farmer, but the remainder of the equipment had either to be purchased at a cost of about $350 or borrowed directly from the farm instructor. The machinery available for loan has been purchased with trust funds. Recently it has been possible to have one's field ploughed with a tractor at a cost of $1 per acre. Because of the expense most farmers prefer to do their own work if they have the equipment. Furthermore, borrowing machines from the farm instructor is inconvenient, since one may have to wait several weeks until an implement is available. With threshing machines, of which there are three on the reserve, there was a case where an individual had to wait two and one half months before threshing his crop.

Cash from the sale of grain is obtainable when the agency has received or disposed of the crop. The agent usually sells the crop immediately in order that the Indians may have their money as soon as possible. Also there is no longer a central storage facility on the reserve for large amounts of grain. The individual farmer is given credit for the number of bushels sold. From the market price is deducted a sum varying from 6 to 10 cents per bushel to cover the expense of threshing. The residual money may then be drawn by the farmer in small sums according to the credit due him in the books at the agency.

With these features of agricultural production in mind we may turn back to review briefly the course of change. At its inception many had high hopes. The dramatic introduction of farming as a means to a good living like the whites is apparent when we look at the avidity with which many entered into it. Though all may not have carried it to this extent, the following case (*circa* 1916) from our field-notes illustrates this motivation:

> Sleigh started farming and did his best. The agency gave him a team and harness. This was all the agency did for him, and this much was done for everyone. He put in a big crop and had good returns the first year. There were seven teams of horses working on his farm every day in the year. He had eight sets of harness, seven of his own purchase. From that first crop [150 bushels] he bought a binder, seeder, plough and a democrat. Winter came. The next year he put in a crop and had good returns again [150 bushels]. Then he bought a wagon, sleigh and a cutter. He also bought a hay rake and a heavy saddle. He

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



built a big shed to house all these things, and he was told that this was for all his implements. When he was through with a machine he stored it in his shed. He also had a home and bought all the furniture and clothing for his wife and children. The agent would put all the money in three piles on pay day. He put the $300 in one pile to take then. He put $150 in another pile to have at Christmas time. He put $400 in another pile for spring. This was after all the bills were paid. On the farm then Sleigh might be short of som. such things as sweatpads for the horses or sugar. He would write an order and send a boy to any store in Gleichen. The boy took the note, and the storekeeper would send the goods to him. This was in the spring when they could not go to town. Later he would drive into the store and pay the bills.

Sleigh had everything and this made him feel good. At meal times he would have the table set, look at the food, and all would look fine. Then Sleigh thought he would do his best to keep his life that way all the time. At haying time he went to camp in the prairies and cut hay every day. He made two big stacks for the horses. He had a few cattle also. After haying, Sleigh went back to the farm, and the crop was ripe for cutting and binding. There was threshing, and the granaries were full. The rest he kept in his barn. Winter came, and he hauled hay to the barn to keep the horses fat all winter. He went to the white neighbors across the railroad tracks and saw new implements which he bought. He went into one barn and saw brushes and curry combs for the horses. He bought these and started feeding the horses oats; he had four horse blankets hanging in the barn. When it was cold, one horse might not feel like eating, and he put a blanket on the horse to make it eat better. Four horses might be used in the winter for going to town. He shod three of them. If horses are treated well, they will not have to be whipped but will do the work in a lively way.

Sleigh was at work every morning at seven. The agent went around early and felt pleased to see him working.

Sleigh always said, "Good morning" to the agent and "takes every word from him" (the expression used when a dutiful son heeds his father's injunctions). If he had jobs to do, he did them first before going to the Sun Dance. He did not have to worry about clothing or groceries, for he kept right on working. But when the work was done, he took out his tipi and lived at the Sun Dance like an Indian. He did his best both in farming and in the Indian way.

241 177 511 [657]

While some of the statistical material offered by the informant may be doubted, the picture in general seems accurate for the time. With wartime prices almost any amount of wheat raised could produce an income gratifying to Indians.

The story of the agricultural venture on the reserve may be seen graphically in Table III, where wheat sown is shown on one curve, wheat produced on the other. Acreage under cultivation as well as the number of farmers increased during the early twenties. But right at that time prices and returns began to sink. In the next ten years, though there was roughly constant acreage, only three good crops occurred. At first all continued doggedly to farm. But drought would burn the crop brown; hail and wind flatten the nearly ripened

241 483 178

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



to the agency to withdraw money from his account and be denied his full request by a paymaster who is interested in thrift. Complaints are common that there is money in the office, but it cannot be paid out until a future date. Our interpreters and informants frequently spent the day's earnings within a few minutes after payment had been made. But some Indians who worked for prolonged periods with us asked that they be paid in a lump sum at the end of the week to prevent their spending the fees immediately.

Accentuating the demand for cash is the fact that few Indians can buy at village stores on credit. Merchants maintain that they have in the past been forced to write hundreds of dollars of debts off their books because of the failure of Indians to pay their bills. Thus credit is issued only to the occasional Indian who has proved himself. Furthermore, whites generally acknowledge that two prices exist in many stores, one for whites and a slightly higher one for Indians. The practice is justified on the grounds that the storekeeper is recouping his previous losses.

The agency's interest in budgetary saving aggravates the demand for money. Less is paid for beef if it is bought on the reserve for rations than if purchased from commercial beef handlers. Horses and hay are purchased from the Indians at figures somewhat below the prevailing white prices. We have also mentioned that the wage scale on the reserve is lower than the wage scale for white labour. To be sure there are a few cases where the agency pays higher prices than the prevailing rate; it is possible, for example, to have coal hauled by truck to the agency at $1.50 per ton, yet the agent pays Indians $2.00 per ton to haul it in their wagons. In general, however, the agency pays less when dealing with Indians than when dealing with whites for the same service or commodity.

To obtain money at times of need Indians resort to two main expedients: sale of various articles, and seeking cash from certain relatives.

We have entered occasional Indian homes which have lacked almost all furnishings except for a bed, a few chairs, a table, and a stove. Only some of these houses belong to old people who wish little. Frequently ambitious young men have a history of poor luck in farming and report that their houses were once much better furnished; when times were hard, they were forced to sell their furniture piece by piece to get cash. The less valuable objects may be purchased by some family on the reserve. The remainder is sold to pawn

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



## The Individual in the Distributive System

Our main insight into cash expenditures comes from the seven informants who told us of their incomes. A table showing these expenditures has been prepared with certain approximations and is to be found in Appendix B.[A] In no sense are these an adequate sample of reserve expenditures, though the picture they give does present a general view of the direction in which the money flows.

Food is the single item accounting for the largest fraction of the total, slightly more than one third of the expenditures. We inquired how long a given amount of food gauged in terms of dollars would last. Our informants said that about $2 worth of groceries are necessary for a single man per week, $3 for two people, and fifty cents for each additional person or child. This is less than many Indians spend for groceries unless they are pressed for cash. The modal amount spent on each trip to the grocery store is roughly $5, but there are weeks when many live on little more than rations plus baking powder, sugar, and salt.

Clothing comes next as 16 per cent of the total expenditures. Judging by these informants' estimates, in 1941 it cost $20 to clothe a child under 12, $25 to clothe a man or boy over 12, $40 to clothe a young woman in white style, and $20 to clothe her in Indian style. Apparel for an infant runs to about $10.

Equipment such as farm machines or harnesses, household purchases such as furniture or tents, and gifts which vary from a bottle of soft drink for a younger brother to the comparatively heavy obligations involved in a trip to the Blood reserve—these three items account for about 30 per cent of the total.

In view of the rations, the large portion of the income that goes for food is somewhat surprising. The fact is that rations alone are insufficient. People must supplement them with bakery goods, jam, dried fruit, and staples. A few have gardens with which they supplement their diet, but gardening on the high plains is an unrewarding occupation which is particularly dreary for the Blackfoot. Some gather berries during the summer, and wood or rationed flour may be traded for vegetables with neighbouring farmers. Yet the major supplement to rations comes from village stores.

Except for a very few items, relatively little clothing is made by the Blackfoot, and in these cases the materials are usually purchased rather than made. Moccasins are made from hide purchased by the

[A] [See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



Our basis for making this list is the assumption that there were 190 families on the reserve in 1939-40. Each male owner of property is presumed to support a family, and the eight women who hold title to cattle, horses, or both are subtracted from the totals of the various classes. We assume that they are contributing to the support of one of the groups with property.

It is, of course, impossible to infer accurately from the foregoing statistics the welfare of any of these groups. To own horses, cattle, and land does not guarantee a stable income, for the stock or size of the farm may be such as to make a very unsatisfactory return. Moreover, even though a man may own cattle and horses in considerable numbers, there may be many months when he is no better off than the poorest. On the other hand we are acquainted with individuals, mainly in a middle-aged or younger group, who own none of these kinds of property, yet who receive stable and satisfactory incomes from wages. As a group, those possessing horses, cattle, and property are fairly well situated; those having only horses and cattle are also fairly well off. Assuming that two-thirds of the members of both groups possess an amount of property necessary for a satisfactory income, we can say that one-third of the families on the reserve are inadequately provided for.

Let us review the sociological results of this type of distribution of wealth. Here we are particularly interested in wealth, but we wish to show that in general possession of wealth is an index of class, so that speaking of class and of rich and poor persons is nearly the same. The Blackfoot distinguish three classes of people: high-class (*oi(o)!amapsi*), middle-class (*soxkitapsi*), and low-class (*sawanitapsi*). An informant indicates the behaviour of high-class persons:

> It is not in the form of war but in the form of riches. A man will aim to go through all the societies (age and religious) and get ahead of all others. If he succeeds, he is a high class person. When he has respect, he has good manners, is kind to people, says things that are so in the right way. He is kind to the old, takes care of the horses, has not much to do but eat and hunt. He has good regalia, invites people frequently, does not gossip much.

The informant seems here to refer obliquely to pre-reserve days, but his and other statements show that he is also speaking about the contemporary scene. The main emphasis is on the acquisition of sacred objects and society memberships, yet a gracious behaviour towards others, ability to maintain sources of wealth, and the possession of a well-equipped household enter also. From these state-

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



unified control began. The farmer was handed his seed grain and was paid by the agency to plough and sow his land. The cash returns were doled out at the discretion of the agency. Similar control was extended to haying and trapping operations. The agency controls almost every job for cash wages, to say nothing of the all-important periodic issues of farm equipment, horses, clothing, and food.

During the eighties and nineties of the preceding century, gardening, haying, and cattle raising were carried out under the direction of an Indian head-man who supervised the requisite operations, disposed of the product, and paid his men partly in welfare benefits and services. But today each Indian is an individual worker for the agency. The bargaining position of the head-man and his gang is gone. The operation is fixed; the disposal of the product is out of the hands of the worker; and the returns from his labour bring in cash only. He is paid to work his own land and maintain his own house. There remains only the option of accepting the opportunity to work, or chancing agency disapproval and subsisting on rations.

Except for the agency's primary obligation for the welfare of the Indians and its lack of special interest in showing a profit, its role is similar to that of a business enterprise. An important goal is to develop the reserve using wherever possible the labour resources of the resident population. The criteria of successful management, like a balance sheet for directors and stockholders, are its annual reports of production and income that go to Ottawa. When these figures stand high, administrative responsibility has been fulfilled, and the organization that is run for the benefit of the Indians is deemed to be doing its best. It brings the Indians the maximum returns, and they, by participating as labourers and receiving the net cash returns, are provided with their living.

The Blackfoot's standard of living has undoubtedly been raised. Through careful planning they have few lean months and more than just annuities as a backlog for depressed years. The poor are neither so threadbare as those found on other reserves, nor are the wealthy living in idle luxury. This result has not been brought about solely by managerial considerations of efficiency; the Indians themselves urged many a paternalistic feature, in the interest of retaining and extending this basic guarantee of subsistence.

(2) The former groups under a head-man or chief constituted not only the co-operative labour battalion but the group among

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



which the produce was distributed. Within these groups also were specialists in native skills such as porcupine quilling, tipi cutting, catching eagles, and curing the sick. For a suitable return the service of one of these specialists could be obtained. Recreation took the form of a hoop and dart game, horse races, ceremonial rites and dances, all involving mainly members of the local group. Mutual obligations of care and shelter were based on real or putative kinship. A widow contributed her talents to the household of a son, daughter, brother or sister in return for food and shelter. Grandparents might bring up an orphan as one of their own. Though the source of many commodities was already the trading post or the agency, the group worked together and shared in common.

Under contemporary conditions a few of these features remain. The medicine-man continues but the other specialists have disappeared. Recreational groups are made up of people who by chance happen to be in a given locality at a particular time, like the workers at the coal-mines or the haying camps. The stampedes, the Owl Dances, the hockey games, the residual age societies and the occasional religious rite are tribal in scope, attracting interested persons from all the reserve. A reduced kinship group alone preserves most of its functions with its obligations of co-operation and sharing. In many respects the reserve residents are thus more unified than ever before, but in earning and sharing they are more divided.

To the officially recognized family of husband, wife, and children go the returns from cattle, wheat, wages, and annuities. Yet many obligations between generations, siblings, and in-laws remain intact and serve as the main channels of distribution. Though the permanent obligations to a wide group of kinsmen are fewer, the social structure continues in keeping with altered conditions. Today the size of the kinship group is partially limited by the geographical distribution of houses, but a more important factor is the generally increased and better distributed wealth. The Blackfoot are neither so poor nor so well-off as formerly; the range of wealth is narrowed. While there are fewer indigents, at the same time fewer are able to support many indigents. By and large the agency has assumed the care of what indigents there are. In many cases an elderly person lives with a biological family; other families have adopted children. But despite the contribution of more rations and annuities, only a small per cent of the total can afford to maintain many dependents over an indefinite period of time in the old way. Nevertheless, when

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



word of a windfall spreads, a man still finds himself obliged to share with his kinsmen who come to eat from the newly abundant larder and return home a few days later with a horse or a blanket.

These familial groups are today better provided for through regularity of income. While fluctuations of fortune continue because of variable growing and market conditions, and while a herd of horses may diminish overnight from disease, the backlog of rations, jobs for wages and annuities, together with more effective technological controls, has helped to reduce serious reverses. As compared with the hazards to property of an enemy raid during buffalo days and the short life of an Indian pony when camps were continuously on the move, the forces stabilizing wealth have certainly increased. The larger investment in permanent property such as buildings, beef cattle, and farm implements, tends to be preserved by passing it on within a family, instead of destroying it or giving it away to the first comer. This continuity is fostered also by agency regulations forbidding the transfer of certain property.

A by-product of greater stability is the diminished possibility of status mobility, a key incentive in the old system of individual competition. While the Blackfoot still censures the lazy man who now merely lives from rations, and while the agency does encourage the industrious with jobs and issues of property, in many respects personal advancement is more difficult today. The error of favouritism has been successfully avoided by the agency, and there is always a considerable number waiting for the agency hand-outs. Hence there lies no broad avenue for the ambitious. As compared with buffalo days, the capital investment necessary to become productive is much larger today. Formerly one could aspire to a herd of horses, the product of a successful war career, by starting only with patience, fortitude, and prayer—even without borrowed weapons. Today, before a crop can be raised, even with trust benefits, one must wait for land, take one's turn for the issue of two teams of horses and then with loaned equipment look forward to the magical convergence of a productive year with a high price for the crop. Cattle are unobtainable, except through a relation's death or an agency donation, and having reached in any case the limit of available pasturage on the reserve, one can expect little from this source. As for jobs, the permanent ones yield only a meagre income and the temporary ones are mainly helpful in tiding over an emergency. Even the ambitious could ascribe getting ahead to luck rather than pluck.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



ingredients that went into these native cultural patterns enter today into raising a fine herd of horses or harvesting a bumper crop of wheat. Yet the distinction is clear in the Blackfoot mind that the old enterprises were never carried on at a sacrifice of basic security.

Today the reserve distribution and security system is balanced between two opposing forces. To the extent that the trust funds can provide them, this security will be a rallying point for many who seek even greater benefits. To the extent that these are provided, the trust funds will stabilize the present system. The other side of the picture reveals the inroads of white economic ideology, dissolving important distributive channels and isolating groups that formerly stood together. This has fertilized the ground for a competitive market system, so that when valued skills have been obtained, disintegration of the social body may continue. But at present these Indians are unable through poverty and unwilling through taste to forego security for potential benefits, though most make every effort to have white produce and their own basic security too.

## Adequacy of the Economy to the Needs

If the reserve economy has provided basic security, we may inquire in what respects it is adequate to satisfy the other needs of the Indians. Needs are determined by the report of a person experiencing them and, on the assumption that all behaviour satisfies some conscious or unconscious needs, by inference from an individual's behaviour. Accordingly we shall first ask whether any of the needs that a white man feels should exist on the reserve, do in actuality exist. Then we shall observe other Indian reserves and ask whether the apparent needs of these reserves also exist on the Blackfoot reserve. Finally we shall consider the conscious needs of the Blackfoot reserve, studying their relation to the economy.

*Needs as judged by whites.* The first comment of most whites hearing of the Blackfoot economic system is that the Blackfoot have their chief needs cared for. They have basic economic security: their rations obviate worry about food, the houses built on the reserve with trust funds are rent-free, the schools and the hospital are free, there are no taxes, the extra annuities for the aged provide old-age security. Judging by this, the Blackfoot have nothing to worry about, and hence must be the most care-free people in the world.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



Have these needs inferred by whites actually been satisfied? No, because despite rations, rent-free houses, educational opportunities, a hospital, and old-age pensions, we still find many instances of behaviour showing that these needs still exist. In spite of rations, the largest fraction of Blackfoot income goes for groceries. Blackfoot still build houses for themselves even though they have already been provided with houses. Some Blackfoot have paid for courses in technical schools in Calgary, a few leave the reserve to attend boarding-schools, while others have sought to enter the town schools. Though the sick frequently go to the Blackfoot hospital, others hire the services of medicine-men or white physicians in neighbouring towns. Few Indians cease to work at fifty when they first receive old-age benefits. Thus we may infer that despite the presence of means satisfying their needs, these needs are not fully satisfied. At best the trust fund helps diminish the urgency of some of them.

A somewhat tender-minded visitor who was acquainted with the existing economic structure might come away from the reserve with a different impression. He might be struck with the difference in the Indian's standard of living as compared with the white's. The houses are small, frequently in rather poor repair. In some places the wells are dry, and Indians must travel to the river, a distance of several miles, to obtain water. Wood for fires must also be gathered at this distance. Sanitary facilities are often dirty, in poor repair, and sometimes lacking. Interiors are sometimes unkempt, bedding patched, and not too clean. Furnishings are adequate in some houses, but in others there may be little more than a mattress in the corner for a bed. Modern conveniences practically do not exist: only one house has running water; three houses have electricity. Though a fair sprinkling of hand-driven washing and sewing machines exists, other households seem to lack even soap and thread. A few men own automobiles, but most travel by horse and wagon. As compared with middle-class whites, there is obviously a lower standard of living among the Indians on the reserve.

Do the Blackfoot feel a need for an improved standard of living? An unqualified answer cannot be given. Certain improvements seem to be rather universally desired, while others are seldom referred to. Judging by the activity shown in these directions, Blackfoot would like more food, better clothing, warmer housing, and larger amounts of furnishings. Many informants went to the nearest store as soon

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



511 as they received their pay to purchase groceries. At the Sun Dance
261 camp we were daily asked for bread, sugar, or baking powder by some person with a depleted larder. The sisters at the Catholic boarding-school complain that many children return thin and hungry after a summer vacation with their parents. These facts suggest that despite rations the Blackfoot are not always well fed. In part this need is a matter of adequate planning, so that a gap of several days does not exist between pay-day and the last morsel of food. To be sure this may be taught in the schools, but Blackfoot girls must make a severe readjustment when they go from the well-provided kitchens of the schools to the meagre resources of most Indian homes. What lessons they learn in the schools may well be forgotten in the severity of this transition. Also the Blackfoot have inherited an epicurean attitude toward the world which is at loggerheads with our ideas of saving: they eat well while there is food and go hungry the remaining days until rations are available. Whatever the reasons be for the condition, we must grant the need for fuller larders.

511 Blackfoot clothing is of the poorest quality, frequently tattered,
291 and sometimes soiled. We believe a need for better clothing is deducible from Blackfoot behaviour. First, considering the severe winters, it seems nearly impossible to purchase for $20 sufficient garments in either number or weight to keep a person thoroughly warm. Second, Blackfoot have accepted eagerly any cast-off clothing that the writers could provide and worn it constantly. Third, a healthy young man of average means declared that he was to work in the mines during the coming winter: he contemplated it eagerly because he would not be cold in the mine as he had been in past winters. If a person of this kind, with average means, is affected by the cold, we believe that many others must have similar experiences.

511 Fourth, there were cases where individuals preferred not to parti-
292 cipate in tribal ceremonies rather than dance in their work clothes. Knowing the enthusiasm with which certain people enter these ceremonies, we may again assume a need for more Sunday suits and
511 dress attire. For these reasons clothing seems to be frequently inadequate to meet the needs of these people.

511 Housing needs as expressed by the Blackfoot are not a matter
362 of quantity. There are many vacancies, particularly among the frame-houses built with trust funds. The problem is furthermore less acute because of the nomadic habits of most families. However,

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



there is need for warmer and better constructed houses. The fact is that most Indians move in winter to small log shacks along the river where, though they are more cramped for space, they have warmth, easy access to firewood and water, and many neighbours. The houses provided by the trust funds are usually lacking in these four respects. Surely frame dwellings could be made to meet more adequately the need for warmth. Meeting the other expressed needs with the present frame-houses located on the uplands is more problematic. It is conceivable that properly located villages from which the Indians could migrate to work their farms would be a better solution than the present one.

As to repair of the houses, we have heard many complaints on the part of the Indians, who take little initiative in doing the necessary work. The white staff at the agency is troubled by this, believing that the Indians have been spoiled or else they would undertake their own repairs. In general Indians hold that as the houses were built with tribal funds, the agency should use these funds to maintain them. With the houses they build on their own initiative, no question of repair enters, for they themselves perform the task. Moreover, Indians do not wish to spend their limited means on houses when there is the possibility that these houses may be repaired with trust money. In view of the small budgeting in the reserve estimated for repair, there are many leaky roofs, broken window panes, and loose strips of siding.

In the heyday of prosperity for the reserve, considerably more furniture was found in the Indian houses than today. When hard times came, the furniture was sold to buy more essential things. As we have seen, some households were reduced almost to a mattress for sleeping and a kitchen stove for cooking and warmth. The fact that during prosperous times most had more adequate furniture is in itself an indication of a need for it. One man apologized for the appearance of his house when we interviewed him, saying that he had been having poor luck (crop failure) for some years. Another complained that his present income was inadequate for more than feeding and clothing his family from week to week; he was unable to save enough for the major expenditures necessary to make his house as he wished it. That a well-furnished house is something desirable may be deduced from the fact that many Indians told with apparent satisfaction of having won a competition in past years for the best-kept house on the reserve. That they have pride in keeping

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



511 352 [356] [351] their houses looking neat is also seen from the efforts on the part of some families to plant shrubbery, to lay a concrete walk from the road to the door-step, to keep the grass short in the front yard, to hang lace curtains in the windows, to give white visitors the cup and saucer with the flower design, and to arrange the furnishings of the living room beforehand. From this we infer a need for better furnishing, particularly on the part of the poorer families.

511 312 365 Other indications of a higher standard of living might be plumbing, improved sanitation, electricity, and the various machines of the modern house. We have never heard anyone speak of the desire for running water in a house, though one of the three houses with electricity has piped water into the house from an electrically driven pump. At the mines, where running water is available in the community wash-house, the Indians use these facilities constantly for [515] washing and laundering. Indeed, it is said that the Indians at the mines maintain the highest standard of cleanliness on the reserve. The only available source of running water other than the mine is [514] the hospital, which provides the sole bathing facilities. When there is no running water available, inside toilets and cesspools are inconceivable. 511 Some Indians living near a power line have considered introducing electricity into their homes. As the public utility company charges the expense of a transformer installation to the consumer, and wiring and fixtures are a further expense, most Blackfoot have rejected the idea after the initial inquiry.

511 171 Most of these attributes of a higher standard of living are considered not very important by the Blackfoot, but one must not reach conclusions on this basis alone. Through the countryside of southern Alberta, many white farmers also are without running water and electricity. In small towns there is frequently no sewage system, and outside toilets are assumed. Moreover, most of these accessories require some source of power. If whites are unable to afford these conveniences, still less could the Indians on their income.

493 Some Indians have purchased automobiles, though they soon discover that maintenance is a very costly affair. Frequently this has induced them to abandon the car. On the other hand the condition of the roads, the love of horses and the greater utility of the latter in rough country and cold winters, the greater carrying capacity of a wagon over a passenger car, all make team and wagon much more serviceable on the reserve.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



These considerations show that improving the standard of living is not purely a matter of increasing the annual income. To be sure, an increased income would probably bring more food, better clothing, and more abundant furnishings. Yet certain persons might still be expected to have hungry days because of the practice of enjoying the present and letting the future take care of itself. Moreover, an increase in income would not appreciably affect the quality of the houses, as the responsibility for upkeep and improvement of the reserve houses has been shunted into the agency's hands. Probably few would introduce running water or electricity, even should the income be available, for these needs are not sufficiently acute. Furthermore, some features of existence such as the wagon and the team would perhaps not change at all, since these are best adapted to local conditions.

*Needs as compared with other Indian reserves.* Such considerations as the foregoing, though important to most whites, are of little concern to administrative officials, for consideration of Indian needs is seldom on such a basis. Officially, Indians are only compared with other Indians. Consequently, the question is whether the Blackfoot needs are as adequately satisfied as the needs of other Indians in Canada.

Table X shows the incomes of various Canadian Indian reserves. These reserves were selected because they have exceptionally high annual incomes for the year. Two Alberta reserves were also added, not because of high incomes but in order to compare the Blackfoot reserve with those nearly similar geographically and productively. The table furthermore indicates for 1934 the main sources of this income, the total income for the reserve, and the per capita income. The year 1934 was selected because at the time of writing the reports for that year were the only ones available which contained recent census data.[1]

The total income of the Blackfoot for this year may be observed to be the third highest in Canada, and the per capita income second highest. Inasmuch as this was a poor year due to drought for reserves dependent on agriculture, one perceives the relatively secure position of the Blackfoot reserve. Those reserves which exceeded the Blackfoot in total income subsist mainly on trapping and fishing.

[1]Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1934, contains all statistics given here.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



of the herds and consequently the returns from cattle have stood consistently lower. Only in terms of the number of horses do the Bloods exceed the Blackfoot, and it is likely that these are in quality more like the Blackfoot range horses than their sturdier work animals. We infer that the resources of the Blackfoot are no greater than those of the Blood but that the trust fund has enabled the Blackfoot to develop what they have.

In many kinds of property the Blackfoot also exceed the Bloods. Despite a larger population, the Bloods have only 95 houses on the reserve as compared with 166 on the Blackfoot reserve. In actual numbers, the Bloods own more tools, wagons, and implements than the Blackfoot, but on a per capita basis the Blackfoot exceed. Judging by personal observation, we would say that the Blackfoot houses have on the average more furniture and that their clothing is of a better quality than the Bloods.

In other respects the Blackfoot are at least the equal of other reserves. All Indian education comes through mission schools or day-schools, and though its adequacy may be questioned, it seems to be fairly uniform from reserve to reserve within a province. In health the Blackfoot are also as well off. The trust fund supports a first-class hospital, whereas medical care is available to most other reserves through missions. Drinking, gambling, and prostitution are at a minimum on the Blackfoot reserve, and we judge this to be true of other reserves as well because of the uniform policing system of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

From the point of view of the administrator the needs of the Blackfoot reserve are satisfied equally well, if not better, than on most other reserves. They are one of the wealthiest groups of Indians in Canada, and little could be gained for them in Ottawa by appealing for more on the basis of these recognized needs.

*Indian needs as expressed by the Blackfoot.* What are the needs of the Indians as expressed by themselves, and how well are they satisfied by the economy? We may distinguish two types of Indians on the basis of needs: (*a*) Those whose needs concern mainly the satisfaction of the demands of food, good shelter, respectable clothing, and transportation; (*b*) those who, despite having these needs fairly well satisfied, still strive for things over and above these. Let us consider the two types, bearing in mind that they are arbitrary and for illustrative purposes only.[1]

[1] Cf. pp. 80-82.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



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The following account illustrates those in the first category:

Fred's wife said, "Others are farming; why don't we farm too?" Fred got a farm. This was right after the sale of the lands across the river in 1910. That year the agency gave Fred $500 for his old frame house on the river and provided him with a new one. In the three years after farming began he made clear money every year, $300 to $500 besides the money he got from the sale of beef and horses. "I call this wealthy because I never was out of grub and always had cattle to kill and money from the wheat." In those days the agent used to give prizes for the best house inside and out. "My wife won so much that they put her out of the competition. She would make pies sometimes and would give them to the agent to take home with him." After the third year of farming his wife said to Fred, "Sometimes I pity you working by yourself. I think you should quit farming and put the money in the bank." First he brought in $700 to the bank. After that they would take in $30 to $100.

This man evidently was content when he no longer had to worry about food or clothing and had a pleasant place to live in. He felt secure because when he wished to eat there was food available. To be sure he bought a painted tipi and a buckskin suit with ermine trimmings, but after this he felt he had attained the ultimate in satisfaction and could cease farming. By that time his income from other sources was adequate for him to keep a good sum in his account at the agency, hence sufficed to maintain his feelings of satisfaction.

Another informant expressed the same idea when he said:

The Indian concept of wealth is to be able to enjoy shelter, food, and clothing, just enough to maintain a comfortable existence. The average Indian does not want electricity and such things, but he does seek freedom from want. He merely seeks to have the simple wants satisfied.

As soon as these needs are satisfied, this type of Indian feels no further need to work and settles down to enjoy his blessings. This type, we believe, includes mainly the older Indians who, when living without the benefits of the trust funds, found that satisfaction of these primary needs was their chief problem. To a large extent the trust funds have cared for them amply.

The other type presupposes satisfaction of these primary needs and seeks more in addition. He may have a dwelling, food, clothing, and a wagon, yet remains dissatisfied. One of the main vocalized complaints concerns getting enough money. One informant expressed it this way:

Today fellows have big farms and never make the money they used to. A lot of farmers never have a cent when pay day comes around. That is how I can tell that things are not good.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



Another said: 511

> We have money [probably referring to the trust fund], but we cannot get any of it.

A third, on being asked what he would do to make the reserve better, said:

> I would let everyone make as much money as he wants. Now a man can only work a certain length of time, and he is laid off. They say, "He has worked enough. Get another man in his place."

One man was commenting on earning a living by agriculture under the present circumstances. In reference to living on his farm in the agency-constructed house, he said:

> There is no use living in a fine house if you are unable to make a living.

Three young men recently left the reserve for a fortnight in order [467] [464] to get a job that paid better than reserve jobs; they felt that the reserve jobs did not pay enough.

We see here that despite living on one of the wealthiest reserves in Canada, these people feel that their needs for money are not satisfied. Though they may give varying reasons as to why they are not satisfied, the central theme is the complaint that they cannot make a living under the circumstances. Cash incomes, it will be 434 recalled, vary from about $2,000 per year in the case of a "wealthy" Indian or two, to merely the $30 annuity and treaty money in the case of children and indigents. The average cash income probably lies between $300 and $400 for persons gainfully employed. It must, however, be recalled that the trust fund benefits, if reduced to cash terms, would raise the figure by $50 to $300 or more, depending on the benefits received through age, size of family, receipts of clothing and equipment.

We have never had the effrontery to ask a Blackfoot directly why 511 he wishes more money, because we were impressed with the obvious 123 difference between ourselves and the Blackfoot in terms of the amount of property possessed. Conversation with an Indian visitor in our tent was frequently started by the visitor's admiration of our air mattress, suitcases, or blankets. There followed an inquiry about the price and frequently a comparison between the prices of various articles in Canada and the United States. Obviously any of our visitors would have been eager to own a number of the articles which we possessed, articles which were not even our "best" possessions,

16: Hanks & Hanks - E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



511 [123] because, like most whites, we do not bring our "best" things when camping. In the light of our former considerations of standard of living where we found that most Blackfoot would be glad to have more food, better clothing, warmer houses, and more adequate furnishings, we can see that the level of living aspired to is not achieved by some under the existing conditions.

511 177 What groups seem to be represented in this type that asks for more than the primary satisfactions? In general they are the younger Blackfoot, the more energetic, "progressive" ones who desire to have some of the features of existence found in white homes.

511 177 65 What has happened to make these differences in the reception of the benefits of the trust fund? Our interpretation is a historical one, to which three main factors contribute. First, the trust fund does satisfy the needs of the older generation brought up to expect little more than subsistence. Second, there has been an increase in expectations among many due to the decade of prosperity after the surrender of land. Third, a new generation has grown up which is unfamiliar with the difficulties of its fathers, and has taken for granted the advantages accruing from the trust fund, and which has gained new standards from closer association with whites.

511 433 We have indicated that the type whose needs concern mainly the primary satisfactions is made up largely of old Indians. They are the ones who lived through the first thirty years on the reserve when real hunger was common. They received thankfully periodic gifts of clothing from the government, for they were often cold. With an axe they built their own houses and very gradually added such luxuries as glass windows, milled doors, and cast-iron stoves. They planted their own gardens not with plough or hoe but with a tipi stake in one hand and seed in the other. They saw their children grow thin, and for want of sufficient food fall prey to disease. They abhorred all that was white, for the whites had brought this degradation upon them. They looked with nostalgia to the days when the Blackfoot ranged the plains. Yet their present wants could be satisfied with trust funds, and though many were loath to cede more land to the whites, all had to admit, after living a few years with the benefits of the trust fund, that life was easier than it had been for many years. These people were satisfied with rations, the yearly granting of clothing, and the opportunity to have a little more from time to time by working on the roads. They settled down content to review their exploits and those of their fathers against the Crees and the Crows.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



While these people were satisfied with the results of the trust funds, others were eagerly taking advantage of the new conditions to do more than satisfy the primary needs. These more energetic ones were astonished by the abundant life during the first decade after the surrender of land. They prospered with the favourable growing conditions and the boom prices for wheat. Not only did they satisfy their basic needs, they had more than they ever dreamed of. This was the good life when their larders were full, their families well dressed, their houses filled with new furniture from the mail-order houses. Just as prosperous years in the world of white commerce set the never-to-be-forgotten standard for "adequate" business, so these prosperous years firmly fixed standards of adequacy for many Indians. When farm prices sank and hot winds began to raise clouds of dust in the eroded fields, these people became dissatisfied with their diminished income. It hurt to sell each piece of furniture to pay for the more necessary features of this "good life." They needed more food, clothing, furniture, farm machinery, and horses in order to repossess this departed day of glorious living. Even today these people need more to achieve their aspirations than the reserve offers.

Finally, a new generation has appeared, a generation brought up in the mission schools, unfamiliar with the strivings of its fathers to obtain food. These people have heard of life on the old reserve during the first thirty years, but these tales concern old times and not life as it is today. They take rations and other benefits of the trust fund for granted, even though they know that all Indians do not receive them. These are their rights because they are paid for with their own money. Furthermore, if only because they know English better than their parents, they have been in closer contact with whites, have observed the amenities of white living conditions, and have aspired to partake of some of them. Although Blackfoot may live better than they did thirty years ago, still they do not live as well as whites. Encouraged by the schools and Indian Affairs propaganda, they look upon themselves as people who will eventually live just like whites.

In our consideration of income similar types were also considered: (*a*) the propertyless young who work for wages, (*b*) those with property whose aspirations demand additional sources of income, (*c*) those with property whose needs appear to have been satisfied. These types were constructed to show occupation as related to property. They appear to be directly related to our present consider-

434 511 [128] ations of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with reserve conditions. The propertyless group and those with unsatisfied aspirations and property are both dissatisfied. Whether they wish security or money, the reserve economy as it now exists seldom satisfies these demands. Those with property and low aspirations are the main ones who live contentedly on the reserve, for their income comes almost without effort. Although some of these may once have had high aspirations, the discouragements have bowed them to acknowledge defeat.

657 434 511 182 There has then been a kind of dialectic process here. The trust fund was intended to satisfy the wants of the Indians. This it did, for few go hungry these days. But at the same time by satisfying these wants, it has made others more acute and brought about the emergence of new ones. The Indian of 1908 was perhaps satisfied when he could get a square meal, but it also made him aware that he was cold and had no chairs in his house. So after a while chairs, stoves, and other furniture were issued to newly-weds. This man's son assumes these articles and desires a radio, or curtains in his windows. Thus the standard of values has been altered by the trust fund.

434 511 177 [423] 241 829 Some aspects of this changed standard have been indicated already in our description of distribution and expenditure where white goods are greatly in demand. There is also the desire to have white standards of many kinds. Though the old Blackfoot may have been satisfied with forty acres of land, today the young man says:

> The Indians are given tracts of 40 acres of land to farm. The white man on the adjoining land has 320 acres. He says he can barely make a living on that. How can the Indians be expected to become independent on a tract one-eighth the size?

465 177 With wages, the same change of standard has also taken place. Some young men in need of money refuse jobs on the reserve when they can make $6 to $8 more by working elsewhere. They are quick to note differential treatment of Indians and whites in other respects. When feed for cattle was purchased in dry years, Indians readily observed that they received $1 to $2 less for the hay they harvested. It is also common knowledge and common cause for complaint that the price paid for ration beef on the reserve is lower than that paid whites when beef is purchased from them. The difference in type

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve



of house built for the farm instructors and the house built at band expense for the Indian is a further source of irritation. They see themselves as potential equals to the whites.

Thus the trust fund has made the comforts of white existence more available to Indians but at the same time has raised the aspirations. In a real sense the Indians have been merely made aware of these needs without being given the means of satisfying them. Young people influenced by the desire for more are chafing that their incomes do not permit them these things taken so for granted by whites. Despite the fact that these people have basic economic security and one of the largest incomes of any Indian reserve in Canada, as a whole their needs have not been satisfied but augmented.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

# *My Grandmother's Camp*

*by Ruth Little Bear*

511 THE WAY I remember my grandmother, she camped very simply in her tipi. She hardly used any fancy accessories, like a tent or a stove or chairs. She did her cooking over an open fire while she knelt on the ground nearby. She fed her guests on the floor and that's where she herself ate. But I must say that she was a very clean and efficient housekeeper.

484 When they got ready to move from their log house to the Sun Dance camp, my grandparents took the box off the running gear of their wagon, which is about like taking the body off the frame and wheels of a car. Then they put the tipi poles on the running gear, between the wheels, and draped their tipi cover over the top of the pile. My grandmother did most of the work, but my grandfather helped her. She would have the tipi cover opened out, and then she would pile it with the rest of her belongings before folding it shut, part way. Then she would put on her willow backrests and the tripods that held them up inside the tipi. She had four of them, a pair for herself and a pair for my grandfather. Then she put in her tipi linings. She had an old-fashioned trunk in which she kept their dance outfits and their religious things. She put it on the

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

# *Around the Household– Some Teachings from the Grandmothers*

## *GRANDMOTHER IN HER HOUSE*
### *by Ruth Little Bear*

When I was just a little girl I spent a lot of time next to my grandmother. She was a very kindly lady, even though her name was Kills Inside. It was given to her by an old warrior who had killed an enemy in his own lodge. Her husband was old Heavy Head, whose name is still being carried by the many members of the Heavy Head family, who are all my close relations.

It was around 1920 when I lived with my grandma and grandpa Heavy Head. Life was very simple on the Blood Reserve during the Roaring Twenties. There were hardly any cars, no electricity, and no modern entertainments. The older tribe members still carried on with our traditional ways. We all had to work hard to make our lives just barely comfortable.

One of my grandmother's basic jobs was to prepare the food for her household. Let's say that she had a whole carcass of a freshly killed cow. She would prepare it the same way as she

six-strip canvas tent (many of our People still lived year-around in tents and tipis back then), a plow, and enough food to get him started. 793 778 [657]

By the time Wings vowed to take our sacred Pipe, his farm was operating well, and he had already paid off the agent's loan. But after he made his payments for the Bundle, he didn't have enough horses left to haul a wagon. Besides, the wagon itself had been included as part of the payment. For him, the sacrifice had been considerable. [426] [342] [432] [511]

The next Owner of our Bundle was Bob Black Plume, also known as Apikayi, or "Skunk." He was given the name by his grandmother, who used the Power of that animal in her doctoring. He was a regular leader of our sacred ceremonies until recently, when he decided to give all his devotion to the Full Gospel Church. [551] [553] [755] [797]

Bobtail Chief was the leader of the ceremony during which our Pipe was transferred from Laurie Plume, or Otter, to our Old Man. The Old Man kept it for ten years, then gave it as a present to his son-in-law, Bob First Charger. The Old Man was then mourning the death of his wife. [431] [765]

SikskiAki was first in the presence of the Pipe when our Old Man had it. She was just a little girl when Grandma AnadaAki and her husband, Ben Strangling Wolf, took her along to the Old Man's spring Thunder ceremony. Although Sikski-Aki was then quite young, her memories add to the spirit the Bundle now has for us. [852]

## THE DIFFERENT-PEOPLE PIPE

One of our remaining Medicine Pipe Bundles has been with our People since the year 1833. Some ethnologists have called this Bundle the Gros Ventre Pipe and even the Long-Time Pipe. Among our People it is known as *NamaTappi-Achkuineman*, or the "Different-People Pipe." It was brought here from the Mandan tribe. 778 [177]

Our head chief at the end of the Buffalo

D.C., where he established contact with sympathetic Congressmen and eastern philanthropists (FRC, 1914; NA, 1917a). 159 663

Typical of his activities was his testimony before a Senate committee in 1914 alleging that 149 Blackfeet had starved on the reservation the previous winter. The charges, to say the least, were exaggerated. Many of those listed had died of natural causes unrelated to malnutrition, while over half were still alive ten years later. The allegations, however, sufficiently impressed Senator Mark Lane of Oregon, who repeated them on the Senate floor. Hamilton in later years was not above quoting his own charges from the *Congressional Record* as the authority for his claim. Nevertheless, Hamilton succeeded in drawing attention to what were undeniably deplorable conditions on the reservation. A subsequent investigation failed to sustain allegations of starvation among the Blackfeet, but it did, for unrelated reasons, lead to the removal of Superintendent McFatridge. Hamilton's initiative in prompting the investigation left the impression among the Blackfeet that he exercised real power, even to the extent of removing a superintendent. He quickly took advantage of that impression to further escalate the business committee's activities (NA, 1915c; 1922b). 159 663 647

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A recurrent issue on the reservation involved a claim arising from land the Blackfeet lost in 1874. That year, through a Presidential order, a large section of the reservation was opened to White settlement. The Blackfeet never received payment for the land lost; at the time, however, they had given the loss little notice, since they had ceased using the area as a hunting ground. From time to time over the next several decades the Blackfeet requested that the Office of Indian Affairs press their claim in Washington, but to no avail. Hamilton made it a central theme of the business committee. The issue appealed to all elements of the tribe and furthered his own career as a tribal leader. In 1919, he gained permission to hire a Washington, D.C., law firm to obtain Congressional sanction for a suit before the U.S. Court of Claims. Five years later, Congress passed the necessary sanction enabling legislation. Finally 159 657 423

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ical condition were the Many Tumors and the Scabbies. The former was said to have been named because its members complained of feeling "living things" in their stomachs. Another version was that the name was derived from scabs in their mouths (Legal, 1897). The leader of the band was Medicine Calf, who was known to the Whites as Button Chief. He was an outstanding leader, and, at the time of settling on the reservation, he was considered to be the primary war chief of the tribe. He was particularly remembered as the only leader to try to negotiate a better deal for the Bloods at their treaty with the Canadian government in 1877. After his death in 1884, the band was taken over by his brother, Strangling Wolf.

The origin of the name for the Scabbies band is in doubt. According to one version, they were named because of a prevalence of skin diseases in the band, but another version states that the title reflected their laziness in producing poorly tanned (i.e., scabby) hides. A small band, it was under the leadership of Weasel Bull at the 1877 treaty and later was led by his son-in-law, Bull Shield. The Scabbies were constantly overshadowed by their parent band, the Many Tumors, and after they settled on their reservation, they gradually lost their identity to them.

Most band names were descriptive, often based upon some incident. For example, the Hairy Shirts were named because one of their members, Wood Traveller, wore a shirt made from the skin of a buffalo calf, from which the hair had not been removed. Led by Rainy Chief, it was said to have been the poorest band in the tribe and drew to it persons from other bands who lacked horses and could not keep up with the tribe's constant travels. Balancing the negative aspects of the band's economic status was Rainy Chief's reputation as a holy man. He was considered by missionaries to have been the first Blood leader to embrace Christianity, but informants claim he was simply trying to obtain some of the supernatural power that he believed the White man possessed. After the death of Rainy Chief in 1878, the leadership was taken by his eldest son, White

sioners. They discussed matters at great length, some adhering to their determination to go North, and others wishing to attend the Council. I urged upon them earnestly the propriety and necessity of going to the Council, etc., etc. and they finally agreed to move tomorrow towards Fort Benton and collect at "The Writings" by the 25th September.

Next visited the "Spotted Eagle", a Blackfoot Chief. He has with him ten lodges and will come to the Council. The Morning Star, with ten lodges will not come. The Bull's Head, with 70 lodges, North Piegans, goes North.[11] He said he was very sorry he could not do as the "Soldier Chiefs" wished. He would like to go to the Council, but there was an old quarrel between himself and the Iron Shirt, a South Piegan, and if they met there would be murder committed. He did not wish to be engaged in fighting at the Council, because, if once commenced, it might not stop with those who began it and therefore he would not go. He was friendly to the Americans and would keep Peace if the Nation made one. The Flathead horse I had come for had been stolen by one of his young men and brought to his camp. He, the Chief, had taken the horse from the thief and now gave him to me to take to his owner. In the winter he should go to the American Fort to trade, and winter near there.

I next called upon "The Man Who Sits by the Eagle's Tail",[12] chief of a band of 18 Lodges of Blood Indians, called the "Robe Shirts". He said that he was a good friend to the whites and would like to go to the Council, but himself and people were very poor—they had only dogs to move with and could not go so far.

[11] *Blood informants say these men were Blackfoot chiefs.*

[12] *The prominent chief met and gave his name to Col. James Macleod when the N.W.M.P. settled at Fort Macleod in 1874. He died during the winter of 1874-75.*

[13] *This man also had the name of White Wolf but was better known as Rainy Chief. He was born in about 1809 and was friendly to the missionaries at a time when most chiefs were hostile. He signed Treaty No. Seven in 1877 as a head chief and died in the following year.*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25-B]

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

126 discoveries which bore upon my own culture, and upon my personal self.

My original journal was very detailed and very long, but not all portions of this volume appeared therein. Some of the Chief's stories were on tape and had to be transcribed in their entirety and inserted in a manner duplicating the time and the place of their original telling. Also, my subsequent visits with the Chief—and I have been spending more and more time among the Piegans—have produced additional information which has been added in the form of footnotes. Otherwise, nothing has been changed—and absolutely nothing has been contrived: these are the words and the actions; these are the feelings and the thoughts; these are the people.

622 Most important, of course, are the people, and foremost among the people is the Chief. At this writing, the Old Fellow is well—and as dynamic as ever. His birthday was on May 10, but I gave him his [575] birthday party on Sunday, May 8, in conjunction with a meeting of [527] the Crazy Dog Society. (I have been elected a member of the Crazy [123] Dogs.) No record of the precise date of the Chief's birth has been found, but since everything else he has ever told me has eventually checked out 100%, I accede to the Chief's belief that he was born on May 10, 1857, and consequently has just celebrated his 109th anniversary—assuredly he is well past the century mark.

622 Some time ago, the Chief told me that both his birth and his 127 baptism had been recorded by a Roman Catholic priest whom he knew only by his Indian name, "Marten Cap," and it was in pursuit of my belief that "Marten Cap" was in reality a Jesuit missionary named Fr. Imoda that I came closest to establishing (verifying) the Chief's true age. In the records of old St. Peter's Mission, dated Dec. 31, 1875, entered in the hand of Fr. Imoda himself, I came upon the following: "*Ego C. Imoda S.J. prope flumen Natokiokas bapt. seq.* [I, C. Imoda, of the Society of Jesus, near Two Medicine River, baptised the following]." Listed then, in both English and Latin, were the baptismal names of seven of the children of Onistáipokah, the Chief's father. The Chief's Christian name ("James *Jacobum*") was among those listed, but since the Chief was by this time a well grown youth, and since Fr. Imoda was able to give only an approximation of his age at the time of baptism, the mystery lingers.

178 This journal, *Piegan*, was written less than four years ago, but [657] those four years have seen many changes, both great and small, [511] here on the Reservation. In Browning in "Moccasin Flat," there is scarcely a dwelling that does not now have inside water, electricity and a television set (but precious few of them have an inside toilet).